

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

7. It became apparent during the course of our inquiry that there were certain basic questions about the nature of after-care on which it was necessary for us to form a view before we could reach any conclusions about the problems of organisation. These questions are concerned with the value of after-care, both to society and to the individual offender. In the first part of our report we examine these matters, describe the existing organisation of after-care, and consider how far this organisation meets the needs both of society and of the individual offender, as we have come to see them. In Part Two we make recommendations which will, in our view, enable these needs to be met more effectively.

8. The term after-care, as it is used today, refers to several distinct forms of activity, which differ in their historical origins, in their objectives, and in the relationship which exists between those who provide after-care and those who receive it. The origins of the existing systems are of particular importance. They have influenced the spirit in which these systems are administered, and they have created traditions and an organisation of which account must be taken in considering future changes. Appendix B contains a historical account of the way in which the concept of after-care has developed. In this chapter we deal more generally with this process of development.

9. One fundamental division between the existing systems of after-care is that between voluntary and compulsory after-care. Voluntary after-care has developed from a humanitarian concern for the plight of the ex-prisoner, which has manifested itself since the early years of the last century, first through the efforts of individuals and later by the organisation of discharged prisoners' aid societies. But for over a century the social value of this voluntary work has also been officially recognised. Since 1862 these societies have enjoyed the support of public funds. This at first represented only a small part of their resources, but has gradually become a determinative factor.

10. During the last hundred years there have been many changes in the organisation of voluntary after-care. From private groups of individuals concerned with a single prison, there has developed a system of societies holding certificates of efficiency granted by the Home Secretary, with the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies responsible for the general development of policy. This Association has recently been charged with the important function of recruiting social workers for employment in prisons. These officers' salaries, like those of the other employees of the Association, are borne on public funds.

11. When support was first given from public funds to the discharged prisoners' aid societies, the object was no doubt to encourage charitable efforts to relieve distress. As the emphasis in voluntary after-care has shifted

from the relief of distress to the social rehabilitation of the offender, the extent of the support from public funds has grown. Nevertheless, voluntary after-care remains something offered to the offender which he is under no obligation to accept. It may be regarded as a specialised form of social service, but not as a part of penal treatment.

12. Compulsory after-care, on the other hand, has the double object of rehabilitation and supervision, supported by the sanction of recall to a penal establishment if the ex-offender misbehaves. The idea of subjecting long-sentence prisoners to a period of supervision after discharge from prison as a part of their sentence goes back to the early days of the system of penal servitude. Originally it took the form of a requirement on the ex-prisoner to report periodically to the police and to notify them of his movements. In the first decade of the present century a more constructive form of compulsory supervision began to develop. The Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, made provision for a period of supervision on licence as part of the new sentences of borstal detention and preventive detention, and special bodies (the Borstal Association and the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts) were entrusted with the responsibility of exercising supervision. The Central Association also gave assistance ("voluntary after-care") to prisoners released from sentences of penal servitude, but without the same powers of control as were provided by the form of licence for borstal trainees and preventive detainees.

13. The two new Associations, and later the Aylesbury Association for women and girls, were financed wholly from public funds. The Criminal Justice Act, 1948, merged the three Associations in the Central After-Care Association, which was charged with the duty of arranging for the supervision of all offenders liable to compulsory after-care. These now include persons sentenced to preventive detention, corrective training or borstal training, and persons under 21 sentenced to imprisonment for three months or more. The Criminal Justice Act, 1961, enables compulsory after-care to be extended to other classes of prisoners, and to young offenders committed to detention centres. All the expenses of the Central After-Care Association are met from public funds.

14. Although rehabilitation is the objective in all forms of compulsory after-care, the systems of after-care for borstal inmates and for adults have not developed in quite the same way. Since the borstal sentence is not determinate, the period of supervision, part of which may fall within the maximum permissible period of detention, has always been regarded as an integral part of the sentence. There has always been close co-operation between the after-care authority and the staff of the borstals in making arrangements for the offender's release, and considerable use has been made of the sanction of recall, which is exercised by the Prison Department of the Home Office on the advice of the Central After-Care Association. By contrast, an offender sentenced to preventive detention or corrective training is released after serving two-thirds of his sentence (unless he loses remission for misconduct in prison), and the period of supervision, which is for the remainder of the sentence, has never come to be regarded by prisoners as a part of the sentence itself. The use of the recall powers has been more restricted, and the extent to which the central after-care authority has taken a part in the handling of individual

cases has been rather less than in the borstal system. If compulsory after-care is extended to certain categories of offenders who have served sentences of imprisonment, as is provided for in the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, the position will be different again, since the power of recall will rest with the courts and not with the executive.

15. The general effect of these legal differences is that, whereas the system of borstal after-care is closely integrated with the system of borstal training as a whole, and is indeed an essential part of the penal treatment, this is less true of compulsory after-care as it has been applied to prisoners. For them, compulsory after-care might rather be described as a means of ensuring that special attention is given to the needs of certain groups of offenders who are regarded as having completed their sentence. Although this attention includes an element of compulsory supervision, failure on the part of the offender to co-operate with the supervising officer is less likely to be followed by recall to a penal institution unless the failure takes the form of a flagrant breach of the conditions of the licence.

16. In this complicated history, three main trends of development may be discerned. One has been the humanitarian concern for all ex-prisoners, whatever the nature or length of their sentence; another the idea that for recidivist prisoners a period of supervision on licence at the end of a long sentence may be beneficial. Yet another has been the growth of specialised systems of after-care of a positive kind for particular classes of offender. But despite the different objectives which underlie these trends and the distinctions which have been created by different forms of organisation, certain general principles have emerged from the practical experience of the past hundred years which are of great importance to the future development of after-care.

17. In the first place there is the principle that after-care should be designed to meet the needs both of society and of the offender. The most elementary requirement of society is to guard against a relapse into crime by those offenders whose previous history suggests that this may be a serious risk, particularly in the difficult period immediately after discharge. The importance of this has long been recognised with those released after lengthy sentences. Now the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, enables compulsory after-care to be extended to certain classes of offender sentenced to comparatively short sentences of imprisonment. But a society which cherishes responsible freedom also needs to secure its own protection by means which nevertheless minimise the restrictions necessarily imposed on the offender. Supervised liberty, in the form of compulsory after-care for appropriate offenders, is therefore seen as an alternative to some extent to their continued segregation from the community in penal institutions, with all the economic and social disadvantages which that entails. In the borstal system, at least, supervised liberty is also seen as a means of carrying further the re-training process which is started in the institution itself. In similar fashion the probation system uses supervised liberty both as an alternative to detention and as a process of re-training and rehabilitation. The discussion in paragraphs 13 to 16 of the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Probation Service* is highly relevant to an understanding of society's concern with an effective system of after-care.

* Cmd. 1650, March, 1962. We refer hereafter to this Committee as the Morison Committee.

18. As to the needs of the discharged prisoner for after-care, these were fully discussed in Chapter III of the Report of the Committee on Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.* We agree with that Committee's view that "the central object of after-care is to provide such guidance and moral support as will help the ex-prisoner to cope with his personal and peculiar difficulties". The creation and development of the prison welfare service, as recommended by the Maxwell Committee, has already produced a wealth of experience which confirms the accuracy of the Committee's assessment of the range and complexity of the social problems which fall within the field of after-care. A job, a home and a friend may still be the essential needs, but the task of helping each individual to find them in the form which best meets his personal needs requires patience, skill and imagination of a high order.

19. A second principle is that after-care should not differ fundamentally in quality according to the channel through which the prisoner receives it. The distinctions between compulsory and voluntary after-care and between the types of organisation responsible for carrying on the work are largely the results of historical accident. The need of different prisoners for after-care will obviously vary, but experience has shown that it does not depend on the particular type of sentence they have served. The Maxwell Committee's description of the objects of voluntary after-care is equally applicable to compulsory after-care.

20. A third principle which has become increasingly recognised is that after-care, like probation, is a form of social work which requires in those undertaking it special qualities of personality and special training and experience. It is for this reason that, in the development of both compulsory and voluntary after-care, the employment of professional staff with experience of social work has played an increasing part. Although both systems had their origins in the efforts of voluntary workers, each has come to rely on professional social workers. Thus the supervision of borstal inmates and prisoners released to compulsory after-care is undertaken almost entirely by the probation service, and the work of the discharged prisoners' aid societies is now augmented by prison welfare officers.

21. A fourth principle is that after-care, to be fully effective, must be integrated with the work of the penal institutions in which the offender serves his sentence, and must be conceived as a process which starts on the offender's reception into custody, is developed during his sentence, and is available for as long as necessary after his release. This has always been recognised in the development of the borstal after-care system. The need for integration has become increasingly apparent in recent years in the case of compulsory after-care for adults and, since the appointment of prison welfare officers, in the arrangements for voluntary after-care.

22. We conclude that the primary function of any system of after-care must be the rehabilitation of the discharged offender. Our task is to consider how far the organisation of the existing systems enables this aim to be pursued effectively, and to recommend such changes as may be necessary. It is not for us to plan the after-care system of the future in

* Cmnd. 8879, June, 1953. We refer hereafter to this Committee as the Maxwell Committee.

detail, but rather to consider what is the form of organisation which is most likely to provide the conditions in which after-care can continue to develop fruitfully and efficiently. We have also to bear in mind that, if radical change is needed, the transition from old to new methods must perforce be gradual.

23. It may be said that the concept of after-care as a skilled rehabilitation service available to all offenders released from custody is unrealistic, because their numbers are so large. We recognise the practical difficulties, but we do not regard them as insuperable. It is partly because of these difficulties that the present distinction between compulsory and voluntary after-care exists. But although this distinction may have been of value while resources were so limited that they had to be concentrated on particular classes of offender who were thought to be in the greatest need, it does not necessarily follow that by pursuing the distinction still further the interests of society and of offenders as a whole will best be met. It is more important now to consider how the two systems of voluntary and compulsory after-care can be brought together into one system than to attempt to expand one at the expense of the other. There will continue to be a distinction in that after-care will be compulsory for certain categories and voluntary for others, but this need not affect the content of the service offered.

24. When after-care was discussed at the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in London in 1960, there was general recognition of the importance of a unified system of after-care for all offenders on discharge. This was reflected in the resolution adopted by the Congress, from which the following is an extract:—

“The purpose of after-care is to bring about the reintegration of the offender into the life of the free community and to give him moral and material aid. Provision should be made in the first instance for his practical needs such as clothing, lodging, travel, maintenance and documents. Special attention should be given to his emotional needs and to assistance in the obtaining of employment.

Since after-care is part of the rehabilitative process, it should be made available to all persons released from prison. It is the primary responsibility of the State, as part of the rehabilitative process, to ensure the organisation of appropriate after-care services.

In the organisation of after-care services, the co-operation of private agencies, staffed either by voluntary or by full-time experienced and trained social workers, should be sought. The necessity for a working partnership between official and non-official agencies should be emphasised. The importance of the role of the voluntary after-care workers is fully recognised. Private after-care organisations should be provided with all necessary information to assist them in their work, as well as with reasonable access to the prisoner.”

25. The resolution of the Congress also referred to the importance of research in the field of after-care, as did the Advisory Council's earlier report on “The After-Care and Supervision of Discharged Prisoners”.*

* Report published 1958.

We are not able to point to any research directed to determining the extent to which after-care of offenders discharged from prisons or borstals assists in preventing relapse into crime. Research in this field is, indeed, particularly difficult. One reason is that the nature and content of after-care vary widely from case to case and from one after-care agency to another, so that criteria for assessing the quality of after-care are needed. Another is that mere reconviction or absence of reconviction is too crude a test of the effect of after-care, since account needs to be taken of the personality, circumstances and post-discharge history of the offender, and the nature and significance of any reconviction considered in the light of the offender's previous record. The Home Office is pursuing studies that may eventually lead to an evaluation of after-care techniques. Universities and other independent organisations are devoting increasing resources to research into the treatment of offenders, and some of this work should contribute to our knowledge of after-care and its results.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRESENT POSITION

(An analysis of the discharges for 1962 will be found in Appendix F)

Compulsory after-care

26. At present the following categories of offenders receive compulsory after-care on release (the number in each group released during 1962 is given in brackets):—

- (a) Borstal inmates (5320 youths, 147 girls) ;
- (b) Young prisoners aged under twenty-one on conviction who are released on licence (in practice only those with a sentence of three months or more are released on licence) (1470 youths, 71 girls) ;
- (c) Corrective training prisoners (458 men, 6 women) ;
- (d) Preventive detention prisoners (253 men, 3 women) ;
- (e) Prisoners serving a sentence of life imprisonment who are required by the terms of their licence to receive after-care (including juveniles sentenced to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure) (8 men, 1 woman).

All these persons are released to the supervision of the Central After-Care Association. The conditions of the licence or supervision order are given in Appendix C. A breach of any of these conditions renders the licensee or ex-borstal inmate liable to recall to prison or borstal as the case may be.

27. The Criminal Justice Act, 1961, enables provision to be made for a considerable extension of compulsory after-care following, broadly, the recommendations of the Advisory Council in their Report on "The After-Care and Supervision of Discharged Prisoners". The categories of offenders prescribed by the Act, who would also become the responsibility of the

Central After-Care Association as the relevant provisions were brought into operation, are persons serving the following sentences of imprisonment:—

- (a) for a term of four years or more ;
- (b) for a term of six months or more, passed on a person who has served at least one previous sentence of imprisonment for a term of three months or more or a sentence of corrective training, preventive detention or borstal training; and
- (c) for a term of six months or more, passed on a person appearing to the Home Secretary to have been under the age of twenty-six at the commencement of the sentence.

It is roughly estimated that these categories would present 5,000–6,000 persons each year for after-care.

28. The Act also enables compulsory after-care to be extended to persons released from detention centres—3,273 during 1962, increasing, it is estimated, to some 6,000–7,000 annually as more detention centres become available and the further provisions of the Act can be implemented which eliminate short-term imprisonment for persons under the age of 21 and replace it with detention in a detention centre. At present some persons released from a detention centre return to supervision outstanding from other methods of treatment. Thus of the 3,273 boys discharged during 1962, 737 were still subject to a probation order as the result of an earlier offence, and another 39 were on licence or under supervision from an approved school. Voluntary after-care is offered in all other cases and, if accepted, is normally arranged by the board of visitors of the detention centre with the probation officer concerned. At one time voluntary after-care was looked upon with some suspicion by the boys to whom it was offered and a very small proportion availed themselves of this help. More recently the position has changed, and in most detention centres voluntary after-care is becoming increasingly accepted.

The Central After-Care Association

29. In law, every person subject to compulsory after-care is to be discharged for supervision by such society or person as may be specified in the licence or notice given him on release. In practice only one society is used for compulsory after-care—the Central After-Care Association—which is not in fact a "society" in the normal sense, but is a self-contained organisation comprising a Council of not more than twenty-two members appointed by the Home Secretary, with a full-time staff of such number and grades as may from time to time be approved by the Home Office. The Chairman of the Council is also appointed by the Home Secretary,* and the General Secretary by the Home Office. The membership of the Council includes the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies (see paragraphs 52–55 below) and representatives of the Home Office, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labour, the National Assistance Board, the Probation Service, Women's Voluntary Service, the Trades Union Congress and other relevant interests. The Council normally meets once a year, and its Executive

* The Council's first Chairman on its inception in 1949 was the Chairman of the Prison Commission and this precedent has continued to be followed.

Committee on average twice a year. It has not been the practice for either body to concern itself with the details of the work done by the Association's staff.

30. The effective parts of the Association are the three Divisions in which it is organised: the Men's Division, the Borstal Division (which also deals with youths discharged on licence from sentences of imprisonment) and the Women's and Girls' Division. Each Division is in charge of a Director appointed by the Executive Committee, with the approval of the Home Office, and each works independently from separate offices in London. The three Divisions thus display a tripartite pattern inherited from the three separate Associations which preceded them.*

31. Any organisation for compulsory after-care has three functions. The primary function is to arrange for the personal supervision and after-care of each released offender. Ancillary to this are the functions of pre-release planning of after-care for each individual, including care of his family while he is in custody, and of post-release assessment of aspects of an individual's conduct.

32. In their supervision of released offenders the Association's three Divisions have not employed their own social caseworkers to any great extent. In the case of adult offenders, the numbers subject to after-care were until recently too small to make a directly operated national casework service seem feasible or justifiable. In the case of borstal boys, always a more numerous group, between the wars the Borstal Association employed its own full-time caseworkers in two large cities and at one time contemplated an extension of direct supervision. The growth of the probation service into a nationwide professional casework service swung the balance in favour of using probation officers as the Borstal Association's agents for supervision and after-care. That Association's voluntary local visitors—termed "associates"—had for long been supplemented by numerous probation officers who undertook after-care of ex-borstal boys in addition to their official duties. Over the years the employment of probation officers in this way became increasingly customary. The Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts similarly made extensive use of probation officers as their agents. When these bodies were superseded by the Central After-Care Association, it became the duty of a probation officer, when so requested by the Central After-Care Association, to advise, assist and befriend any person released to compulsory supervision and also, with the offender's consent, any other person released from a sentence of imprisonment whom the Association asked the probation officer to advise, assist and befriend.

33. The Association's three Divisions directly undertake supervision and after-care to a limited extent. The Women's Division employs five caseworkers; two undertake the supervision and after-care of women and girls resident within five miles of the Division's London office, and the other three are outstationed at Birmingham, Harrogate and Liverpool. The Men's Division employs four caseworkers who undertake the supervision and

* The Borstal Association, the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts, and the Aylesbury Association. See paragraphs 12-13.

after-care of men (other than those discharged from a sentence of corrective training who have a home to go to) who are resident or who settle in the Metropolitan Magistrates' Court area. The Borstal Division employs four caseworkers who undertake the supervision and after-care of homeless borstal boys and those with special problems who settle in the last mentioned area.

34. With these exceptions, the Central After-Care Association uses probation officers as its "associates". In 1962 the probation service undertook the after-care of 591 (82 per cent.) of the 719 men, 3 (30 per cent.) of the 10 women, 152 (70 per cent.) of the 218 girls and 6,514 (96 per cent.) of the 6,790 youths released to the compulsory supervision of the Association. Accordingly, the Association's own activities are chiefly concerned with arranging for the supervision and after-care of its charges by probation officers, making the necessary arrangements with these officers and with the offenders prior to release, maintaining general control over the progress of individuals under supervision and over the ways in which they are supervised, and intervening when sanctions may have to be applied. This is not to say that the activities of the three Divisions are merely administrative in character: the Borstal Division, in particular, has always exercised a continuing and sometimes decisive interest in the supervision of those under its care and intervenes not only when sanctions are under consideration but often to take action not easily open to the probation officer. Indeed, the Division is frequently consulted by probation officers seeking advice and guidance.

35. When requested by the Association—in practice, by the appropriate Division—to undertake the after-care of an offender due for release, the probation officer makes all local arrangements for the reception of the offender. In addition to assisting him in any domestic and other problems affecting his resettlement, the probation officer may provide working clothes where necessary and, in an emergency, can spend such sums as he may deem necessary. The Division concerned expects, however, to be consulted before any exceptional expenditure is undertaken, for example, on tools, education or to meet a domestic crisis. Expenditure incurred by the probation officer in this way is reimbursed by the Division. The Division receives reports from probation officers on all persons under supervision and after-care. Where such a person is again before a court, or where his conduct is not in conformity with the requirements of the licence or supervision order, the probation officer reports the facts to the Division concerned and in consultation with him a course of action is decided upon. Where necessary the Division makes recommendations to the Home Office as to the recall to prison or borstal of a person who is in breach of the requirements of his licence or supervision order.

36. The three Divisions of the Association are concerned principally with pre-release planning. This is most fully developed in the Borstal Division. As noted in paragraph 14, borstal after-care was from the outset conceived as an integral part of the offender's sentence. In consequence, it is part of the borstal tradition (as is not yet the case in adult prisons) that after-care planning should be well integrated with the work of the penal institutions themselves. The Borstal Division begins compiling the case history

of each youth within a few days of his reception in a training borstal. Members of the Division's staff visit every borstal at frequent intervals to interview all new receptions, and others as their after-care needs demand. A summary of the case history is sent at an early date to the social worker, usually a probation officer, who will eventually supervise the youth, and be is invited to establish relations with the home and to correspond with the youth. (With men and women it is normally only when some special problem is brought to notice by the offender himself that the prospective after-care officer is given an opportunity of establishing contact with the home, where one exists). Several weeks before release, arrangements are completed (in consultation as necessary between the Borstal Division, the social worker in the community, the parents and the institution) for the youth's resettlement. Special care is devoted to the needs of homeless youths.

37. All borstal inmates may receive one period of five days pre-release leave—known as home leave—during their period of training. For those with homes this is granted only after the Division has satisfied itself, where necessary after consultation with a probation officer, that the family are able and willing to receive the youth or girl. Those without homes spend their leave in accommodation found for them, if possible in the lodgings to which they will go on release. It is a condition of home leave that the inmate should visit the supervising probation officer so that they may together discuss future plans. Home leave is also available to many adult prisoners, when a similar procedure applies.

38. The Women's and Girls' Division has the special problem that the small number of persons for whom it is responsible is dispersed over a wide geographical area. As explained in paragraph 33 above, the Division has sought to meet this situation by directly employing its own caseworkers and stationing three of them in the provinces, where they are able to make fairly frequent visits to the prisons with which they are concerned, for the purposes of after-care planning, and to combine this with the actual supervision and after-care of women and girls who settle within reporting distance on release. The Division also employs a resident officer at Holloway prison.

39. The after-care arrangements for men are much less satisfactory. This may be explained chiefly by the fact that men subject to compulsory after-care, until recently, have always been a small group consisting mainly of unpromising people. As the prisons in which they were detained were generally located in isolated areas, it was not considered feasible for the Men's Division to adopt the same solution as the Women's Division by employing its own staff of outstationed caseworkers with duties both inside and outside the prisons. The supervision of individual offenders on release is accordingly undertaken largely by probation officers (see paragraph 34). In the main the Division, whose Director is also the General Secretary of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, has, until recently, been less active than the Borstal and Women's Divisions in seeking to plan after-care thoroughly before men are released, or to establish close co-operation with the penal institutions through which its charges pass. The main reasons for this difference of approach are probably that

the men for whom the Division are responsible serve long sentences during which their domestic situations may change and so frustrate any plans for their resettlement made too far in advance of their release; and that, for the reasons discussed in Chapter 1, after-care has not been regarded as an integral part of the sentence. We were told that until recently an adult prisoner, unless he himself raised any personal or domestic problems during his sentence, might remain little more than a document so far as the Men's Division was concerned until about three months before his release date. It is at this stage that he is seen by the Division's visiting officer, who discusses with him his plans and prospects on discharge, and makes arrangements for his resettlement in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour and the probation officer "associate" who will supervise the prisoner on release.

40. We understand that steps have been taken by the Men's Division to improve its organisation and, in particular, the Division's contact both with the offenders for whose after-care they are responsible and with the staffs of the penal establishments in which their charges are detained.

41. Since the Central After-Care Association Divisions do not themselves undertake supervision and after-care case work to any great extent, they are not large organisations. At 31st December, 1962, the overall establishment of the Borstal Division was 55; of the Men's Division 27; and of the Women's and Girls' Division 16.* Generally speaking, the staffs of the three Divisions are subject to the establishment rules which govern employment in the Civil Service. Gradings and salary scales of the executive, clerical and typing staff are in general alignment with those in the Civil Service. The salaries and gradings of the welfare officers in the Men's and Borstal Divisions, and of the supervisors in the Women's and Girls' Division, are in alignment with those of analogous grades in the probation service. Vacancies in the senior grades are mostly filled by the promotion of the existing staff, who are eligible for transfer from one Division to another. Although the visiting of prisons and borstals, interviewing of offenders, consultations about them with officers of penal institutions and with probation officers, and all else that is involved in after-care planning is skilled work not inherently dissimilar from other types of social case-work and social administration, it has not generally been the practice to recruit staff with social work training. But the need for training staff already recruited has been recognised and staff are encouraged to improve their knowledge of the work by taking diploma courses and by attending extra-mural courses or lectures.

42. The whole of the expenses of the Association, whether for administration or after-care, is met from public funds. The Women's and Girls' Division and the Borstal Division have access to certain charitable funds which are used for the assistance of inmates and their families in matters outside the scope of public funds. In the financial year 1961-62 the Association's expenditure from public funds amounted to £131,962 of which £108,445 represented the cost of administration (including the salaries of after-care workers who give personal service to ex-prisoners and their families), and £23,517 expenditure on direct material aid to discharged persons.

* See paragraph 33 as to number of caseworkers included in these figures.

Voluntary after-care

43. At present persons over twenty-one sentenced to ordinary imprisonment (except life imprisonment) are released absolutely and are under no obligation to accept any form of after-care or comply with any conditions. All are eligible, however, to receive voluntary after-care. For persons released after serving long sentences of imprisonment, such after-care is arranged by the Central After-Care Association, and is normally undertaken by probation officers. The classes concerned and the approximate number in each class released during 1962 were:—

- (a) Men discharged from central prisons (327).
- (b) Men discharged from other prisons after serving sentences of four years or over (516).
- (c) Women discharged from central and regional prisons after serving sentences of three years or more (26).
- (d) Women discharged from other prisons after serving sentences of more than three years (Nil).

44. The voluntary after-care of men and women released from shorter terms of imprisonment, and of young prisoners under twenty-one on conviction released after serving sentences of less than three months, is the responsibility of 36 local prisoners' aid societies and of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. 49,894 persons in this category were released during 1962.

Prisoners' aid societies

45. An account of the development of the local aid societies is given in the historical summary in Appendix B. Each society is required to hold a certificate of efficiency from the Home Secretary; to be affiliated to the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies; and to adopt and conform to rules drawn up by the society and subject to approval by the Home Office. The society's affairs are managed by a committee appointed yearly at the society's annual general meeting, which is held in public. It is the duty of the committee to collect funds; to receive and apply Government grant; to co-operate with other prisoners' aid societies; to keep a record of its dealings with discharged prisoners; and to publish an annual report. Membership of a society is open to all persons subscribing to its funds. The present membership of the 36 societies comprises some 2,000 business firms and other corporate bodies and some 6,400 individual subscribers.

46. Each society was originally centred upon its local prison. Fifteen of the present societies, however, operate in areas where the local prisons have been closed or redesignated as regional or central prisons. These societies—known as "closed" societies—now give assistance to prisoners committed from courts within the areas of the respective societies but sent to prisons in the areas of other societies.

47. Most societies employ an after-care officer, some have more than one, others a part-time officer; and all have secretaries, full-time, part-time or honorary, some combining their duties with those of after-care officer. The position at 31st December, 1962, is shown in Appendix D.

which also lists the potential case-loads of the several societies in terms of the number of prisoners discharged to their responsibility during 1962. Many of these prisoners seek no assistance on release, but actual case-load figures are not available.

48. It will be seen from Appendix D that in 1962 the aid societies were "at risk" for 48,504 discharged prisoners. To meet this potential need the societies' resources of paid man-power (including secretaries as well as after-care officers) consisted of 40 full-time workers and 15 part-timers (including six and one respectively who were described as secretaries only). These paid workers were supported by 21 honorary officers. The available resources were not, however, evenly distributed in relation to potential case-loads.

49. At one time the aid societies were concerned almost exclusively with the provision of material aid, generally in the form of cash grants to cover immediate needs. The Maxwell Committee recommended that in view of the benefits available to discharged prisoners from the public welfare services, aid societies should in future primarily concern themselves with the personal and individual assistance of selected prisoners who were most in need of after-care, in the sense of requiring personal guidance and support for some period after discharge if a relapse into crime was to be avoided. It is now a duty of the prison welfare officer (introduced into the prison by the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies since the Maxwell Committee report was published) to select those prisoners who are willing and likely to benefit from after-care in this sense, and to present case histories and constructive plans for their after-care to the aid society concerned and/or to other appropriate social services in the community. The societies vary considerably in the extent to which they have succeeded in changing from their traditional function of simply providing aid on discharge to that of offering continued and constructive after-care to those who are prepared to receive it. Of necessity the societies must first concentrate on the immediate practical problems, not only of those offenders who are specifically referred to them by the prison welfare officers, but also of the large numbers who, finding themselves in difficulties after discharge, decide to call on their local society for help. Clothing, lodgings and a job are the most pressing needs that the societies are required to meet, and the task may in many cases absorb so much of the efforts of their staff and of their limited resources that little attention can be given to the more constructive personal help envisaged by the Maxwell Committee. In such a situation, much depends on the availability of voluntary workers prepared to advise and befriend ex-prisoners and thus take some of the burden from the after-care officer. We understand that some 250 voluntary workers have been recruited by the aid societies and are now active. Many of them are people already engaged in other forms of voluntary service.

50. The Exchequer meets half the approved expenditure of the local aid societies on salaries and office expenses, and half the cost of the clothing provided for prisoners on discharge. For the rest of their income, the societies depend on voluntary contributions and interest from investments. In the calendar year 1961, the total income of the societies,

exclusive of Exchequer payments, amounted to £42,663. Total expenditure amounted to £77,745, of which £13,195 represented the cost of cash grants and other aid to discharged persons and their families, £10,918 the cost of clothing and £53,632 the cost of administration (including the salaries of after-care officers). Exchequer payments for the year totalled £27,614, leaving a balance of expenditure over income of £7,468.

Denominational aid societies

51. Also affiliated to the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies are two denominational aid societies—the Catholic Prisoners' Aid Society and the Jewish Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, with head offices in London. Neither society has a direct responsibility for persons discharged from prison, but they maintain close liaison with the local aid societies and their activities are mainly concerned with such cases as may be referred to them. The denominational societies are not grant-aided from public funds.

The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies

52. The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies co-ordinates the work of the aid societies throughout England and Wales and, in consultation with the Home Office, distributes the Government grants. Some prisoners (in 1962 there were 1,250 men and 140 women) for whom the local aid societies are responsible are transferred from local prisons to serve their sentences in regional prisons. For these the Association acts as the after-care agency, on behalf of the local aid societies. It employs its own welfare staff both at its headquarters and at this group of prisons. It is also responsible for the appointment of prison welfare officers at local prisons.

53. The Association is a body corporate under the Companies Act, 1948. Under new Articles of Association adopted in 1961 its constitution has been broadened to include, in addition to representatives of its affiliated societies and of the Prison Department of the Home Office, a proportion of other persons known for their ability and interest in charitable work. So far, nineteen such persons have been selected from the fields of industry, public life and social work. The governing body of the Association is a Council of not less than seven or more than sixteen persons one of whom is nominated by the Home Office and one by each of eleven groups of constituent aid societies. In addition, all officers of the Association, and the Chairman of any Committees appointed by the Council, are ex-officio members of the Council. The Council normally meets three times a year and its General and Executive Committees on average six times a year. The General Secretary of the Association, appointed by the Council, subject to the confirmation of the Home Office, is also the Director of the Men's Division of the Central After-Care Association.

54. The administrative costs of the National Association, including the salaries and expenses of prison welfare officers, are met by the Exchequer. The income from subscriptions, donations and investments is devoted to the assistance and after-care of prisoners discharged from regional prisons and other special cases.

55. In the financial year 1961-62, the total income of the National Association, exclusive of Exchequer payments, amounted to £11,095. Total expenditure during this period, exclusive of the Government grant distributed to local aid societies, and of certain ex-gratia awards and national assistance payments to discharged persons made by the Association on behalf of the Prison Commission and the National Assistance Board respectively, amounted to £124,166. Of this sum, £2,540 represented special grants to affiliated aid societies, £10,050 the cost of direct material aid (including the provision of clothing) to discharged persons and their families, £110,837 the cost of administration (including the salaries of prison welfare officers), and £739 miscellaneous expenses. Of the balance of expenditure over income amounting to £113,071, payment was made from public funds of £110,837 representing the Association's administrative costs and £2,251 representing one half of the cost of clothing, leaving a balance of expenditure over income of £17.

Other participants in voluntary after-care

56. Recently a number of corporate ventures for supplementing the grant-aided services have been inaugurated through Women's Voluntary Service, university settlements, the British Council of Churches and other bodies. In London, for instance, the New Bridge has been formed as a society with the specific object of providing assistance to discharged persons with the help of voluntary associates, and is undertaking constructive work with individual prisoners. Similar work is being undertaken by the Blackfriars Settlement, again through the agency of voluntary associates, as one aspect of its much wider range of activities in the social work field. In addition, the Settlement provides short-term accommodation for a small number of homeless discharged prisoners. These bodies are providing the kind of assistance envisaged by the Maxwell Committee.

57. An interesting scheme is being operated by Women's Voluntary Service, in co-operation with the Director of Borstal After-Care, and with the help of the probation service. Its aim is to provide friendship for homeless and lonely youths discharged from borstal institutions. The friend acts as an auxiliary to the supervising probation officer, to whom he must be personally acceptable, keeps in touch with the youth, invites him to his home and helps him to find and keep a job. These men were found initially from among husbands and acquaintances of interested W.V.S. members, but members of local men's organisations are also coming forward to help. Personal references are taken up in all cases by the probation officers. Started in Manchester, the scheme is now operating also in Birmingham, Nottingham and Liverpool, and is being extended to Hertfordshire and East Suffolk. The friends meet monthly as a group with the probation officers to share their experience and discuss their current problems. One result of these consultations has been the realisation that more hostels are needed for homeless ex-borstal boys, and this in turn has led to the provision, under the auspices of Women's Voluntary Service, of such accommodation at Birmingham, Manchester and Wolverhampton.

58. A similar concern of other voluntary bodies and individuals in after-care is manifested in the establishment of a number of small hostels for

homeless discharged prisoners, which supplement in a very valuable way the long standing work of the Church Army and the Salvation Army. We have received evidence of the achievements and plans in this field of such voluntary and charitable organisations as the Langley House Trust, Norman House and the Margery Fry Memorial Fund, and we express the hope that their efforts will continue and multiply. We have also noted with appreciation the work of the West London Mission Rehabilitation Centre for Alcoholics, which accepts suitable persons discharged from London prisons.

CHAPTER 3

PRESENT WEAKNESSES AND THE LINES OF REFORM

59. In our first chapter (paragraphs 17-21) we noted certain general principles which experience has shown to be essential to any effective scheme of after-care. These may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) After-care must be designed to meet the needs both of society and of the individual offenders.
- (2) The nature and quality of the after-care service provided should be fundamentally the same and available for all offenders, irrespective of the particular type of sentence which they may have served.
- (3) After-care is a form of social work which requires in those undertaking it special qualities of personality and special training and experience.
- (4) After-care, to be fully effective, must be integrated with the work of the penal institutions in which the offender serves his sentence, and must be conceived as a continuing process throughout his sentence and for as long as necessary after his release.

We now consider how far the existing after-care systems take account of these requirements or are capable of being adapted to do so.

Major shortcomings

60. We have shown that there is at present no one organisation for after-care. Even the Central After-Care Association which was set up in 1949 to create one comprehensive organisation out of the hitherto unrelated bodies in the field of compulsory after-care (the Borstal Association, the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts and the Aylesbury Association) continues to function largely as three separate bodies, which are only loosely co-ordinated. In the field of voluntary after-care it is the function of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies to co-ordinate the work of the local aid societies. But these societies, being independent bodies in their own right, can only be advised. Thus the case committees of some societies continue to meet at the prisons for the purpose of interviewing those prisoners who may have expressed a wish for voluntary after-care, though the Maxwell Committee expressed the hope, subsequently endorsed by the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, that, with the appointment of prison welfare officers, the practice would cease.*

61. The society responsible for assisting a particular ex-prisoner is that for the area containing the court from which he was committed. This allocation

* Report, paragraph 127.

tion of responsibility, which is a relic of the days when an offender normally served his full sentence in the area of his committal, necessitates delegated arrangements being made between societies where, in the circumstances described in paragraph 46 or as a result of transfers to relieve overcrowding, an offender is discharged from a prison in a different area from that of committal. The position is further complicated if the offender goes to live on release in the area of yet a third society.

62. The aid societies vary widely in their energy and efficiency and in the policies which they choose to follow. Some have been slow to adjust themselves to a changing situation and continue to work in an atmosphere of charitable patronage. The societies were urged by the Maxwell Committee to deepen and develop their interests beyond the realm of material help to embrace the personal after-care of selected persons according to their individual needs.* We have received evidence from representatives of a number of societies and have been impressed with the drive and enthusiasm with which some of them are seeking to realise this aim. But the standard of work which they and other progressive societies are able to maintain is inevitably conditioned by what they can afford. The kind of help which professional social workers are able to give those discharged to compulsory after-care is seldom available through local aid societies to men eligible for voluntary after-care, though they may be no less in need of such help. We regard this as a major weakness of the present arrangements.

63. Many of the local aid societies, for reasons of financial stringency, have of necessity had to employ as after-care officers persons with other sources of income who may not be adequately equipped for the work. Other, more forward-looking, societies have sought to attract suitable younger men and women who have chosen social work as a career. Although the approved salary scales of after-care officers have recently been reviewed so as to make the posts more attractive to candidates with adequate qualifications, experience and ability, they are still low.† But the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies have informed us that many of the local societies would have great difficulty in meeting that part of the cost for which they are responsible, while the slender resources of the others would be still further depleted. Seven societies, with a combined potential yearly commitment for 2,000 discharged prisoners, employ no staff. In addition there are seven other societies, at risk for a total of 3,600 prisoners a year, who employ only part-time workers—nine in all. Twelve other societies have a single full-time worker each, even though two of them are each potentially responsible for over 1,000 prisoners a year and most of the rest for 700–1,000 a year each. Only seven societies employ two or more full-time workers. These include the six largest societies,‡ between them potentially committed to the after-care of 30,000 discharged prisoners a year. But even these six employ only the equivalent of 24½ full-time workers (counting secretaries as well as after-care officers). This means that of those discharged prisoners who apply, the large majority are served by aid societies

* Report, paragraph 89.

† The revised salary maximum for an after-care officer (grade I) is £995 and for an after-care officer (grade II) £685. For prison welfare officers, whose salary scale is related to that of probation officers, the present maximum is £1,275.

‡ London; Lancashire and Cheshire; Birmingham and West Midlands; West Riding; Liverpool, S.W. Lancs. and North Wales; and South Wales.

who lack the staff required to relate the help given to a careful and well-informed assessment of each individual's needs. It also means that there are wide variations both in quantity and quality of work between one society and another. We see little hope of improvement in the present standard of service unless the structure of voluntary after-care is radically reformed.

Public expenditure without public control

64. The following table* provides a conspectus of the financing of all three branches of the after-care system in 1961. All told, the system cost £334,000. Of this £54,000, or 16 per cent., was derived from private benevolence, while no less than £273,000, or 82 per cent., was met by the Exchequer. These figures understate the extent to which after-care services are in fact paid for from public funds, because they omit (a) the cost of clothing and money payments provided direct by the Prison Commission to certain discharged prisoners and borstal inmates, and (b) the cost to the probation service of undertaking compulsory after-care. Allowing for these factors, the current public charge for all after-care services must now amount to at least £300,000 a year, to which private contributions may be adding some £50,000. It is not the responsibility of the after-care services to provide funds for the maintenance of discharged persons and their families: it is the responsibility of the National Assistance Board to do this where the need arises, and such expenditure is again not reflected in the figures given below. The aid societies, the only part of the after-care system which still mainly relies on private funds, have been increasing their dependence on public resources over the years. Their income in 1961, it will be noted, fell £7,000, or 9 per cent., short of their outlay. Recent experience suggests that if they continue to operate as at present their budgeting difficulties are likely to increase as time goes on.

	Central After- Care Association 1961-62	National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies 1961-62	Local Aid Societies 1961	Total
	£000	£000	£000	£000
<i>Outlay</i>				
Material aid to prisoners ...	24	10	24	58
Caseworkers' salaries, administration and miscellaneous expenditure ...	108	114	54	276
Total ...	132	124	78	334
<i>Income</i>				
From private sources ...	—	11	43	54
From Exchequer ...	132	113	28	273
Total ...	132	124	71	327
Difference between income and outlay ...	—	—	-7	-7
Percentage of outlay borne by Exchequer ...	100	91	36	82

* Summarising the figures given in paragraphs 42, 50 and 55.

65. The system we have been describing, though heavily dependent on public funds, is not subject to strict public control. It is so parcelled out as to be confusing to prisoners, social workers, and public alike, so that it tends to discourage voluntary effort without making sure that the public funds committed to after-care are used to best advantage. None of our witnesses was prepared to defend present arrangements, save perhaps as regards borstal after-care, and very few wished to retain the *status quo*. As to the changes that should be made, the main division of opinion was between advocates of a centralised service and advocates of decentralisation. There was a further division between those who would keep compulsory and voluntary after-care separately organised and those who advocated a single service undertaking both tasks.

Approaches to reform

66. The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies saw the remedy for the difficulties of a flagging voluntary movement in greater centralisation. In addition to continuing to employ all prison welfare officers, with their salaries wholly reimbursed by the Exchequer as now, it proposed to us that the Association should similarly employ, and the Exchequer similarly meet the salaries of, all after-care officers serving within the ambit of the aid society movement. If this were accepted, the Association would become the sole employer of all professional staffs engaged in voluntary after-care, inside or outside the prison. The Exchequer would become the sole source of funds for the salaries of this voluntary movement's professional staff, in addition to bearing a large share of the cost of the movement's other administrative expenses and of clothing provided by it for prisoners on discharge. In effect, these proposals would result in the establishment of two parallel centralised services for after-care: one for compulsory after-care, wholly Exchequer-financed and using probation officers as its field agents; the other for voluntary after-care, very largely Exchequer-financed, employing its own social workers at prisons and in the community, whose efforts would be assisted by local groups of voluntary workers—the aid societies. The suggested division of functions between the two services is patently illogical. There is no more reason why the social worker in prison, engaged with the needs of all prisoners, should be employed by a voluntary society concerned only with voluntary after-care rather than by the Central After-Care Association, which is concerned only with compulsory after-care. Moreover, if all the social workers professionally occupied with prisoners, whether in prison or after release, are to be paid by the State, and if the voluntary after-care system has to be publicly financed almost to the same extent as the compulsory system, then there remains no justification for maintaining two separate systems of after-care.

Unification and decentralisation

67. The case for creating a single unified organisation for all forms of after-care is strong. The present distinctions between compulsory and voluntary after-care and between the types of organisation responsible for carrying on the work are unquestionably confusing to social workers and to prisoners alike. These distinctions are likely to appear even more confusing and irrational when the provisions of the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, enabling compulsory after-care to be extended to fresh groups of offenders,

are brought into force. The number of recidivists oscillating between compulsory and voluntary after-care, according to the kind of sentence most recently served, would then be considerably increased. Continuity of records and of treatment, which will be of especial importance in their case, is not likely to be facilitated by perpetuating the existing distinctions between the arrangements for providing the two types of after-care.

68. But it does not follow that a unified after-care service should also be centralised, whether on the lines of the Central After-Care Association, or those proposed to us by the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, or on the lines of the Central Commission or Board suggested by certain other witnesses. Nor, if financial responsibility is centralised, does it follow that the pattern of organisation must also be centralised. Any well-devised after-care service needs two groups of professional caseworkers. The first group are employed at custodial institutions, having the special function of getting to know prisoners personally, helping them with their "extra-mural" difficulties, and initiating plans for their care after release. The second group are employed in the community, undertaking social work with prisoners' families and later with the prisoners themselves on release. These two groups have to collaborate and therefore need agreed procedures for communication. If the workers in either or both of these two groups are inexperienced, and their responsibilities vaguely defined, there is need for a third group of workers, specialising in after-care arranging, to bring the two professional groups together, acting as a channel of communication between, and general overseer of, institutional and community workers. This was the justification for creating the organisations which preceded the Central After-Care Association, and eventually for creating the Central After-Care Association itself, in days when no one in prisons or borstals had any clear responsibility or training for after-care, and when the dimensions of the work were far smaller than today. In the then limited field of compulsory after-care, relying on probation officers for its field work, the Central After-Care Association was established to bring probation officers into touch with prisoners whose care they would undertake and—at second hand—with the institutions in which their charges were detained.

69. The Central After-Care Association co-operates both with the staffs of penal institutions and with probation officers, so having a hand in each service without being an integral part of either. Its relationships with both are founded on letters, telephone calls and periodic visits. But the need for such third party arrangements is passing away. When the prison welfare officer is accepted as a member of the prison team, we may look forward to the growth of a service of professional social workers in all prisons. They will become a corps of specialists capable of assuming, and who should be firmly encouraged to assume, direct responsibility for after-care planning and for entering directly into relations with the community social workers to whom they will pass on prisoners for help after release, whether their after-care is compulsory or voluntary. In borstals, likewise, where the need for specialised social workers is less pressing than in prisons, we shall argue (see paragraph 92) that the housemaster is well placed to assume direct responsibility for after-care functions. These being the prospects, it is our view that there would be more disadvantage than advantage in any reform resulting in greater centralisation of services.

70. The most favoured type of centralised service was an *ad hoc* organisation employing its own social workers both in institutions and in the community. But apart from employing and inspecting these two groups of professional workers, the central organisation's direct contribution to after-care could only be to act as a channel of communication between the two wings of its own professional staff and as a centre of advice on unusually difficult cases. Such a centre may be needed in any event, but the need for it would not require that the whole after-care service should be centrally operated. As to communication, the greater the expertise and professionalism of the caseworkers employed, the smaller would become the need for any third party to act as go-between, and the stronger would be the case for fostering direct contact between workers in the two branches who are concerned with any given prisoner. For reasons stated later (see paragraphs 101-102), we reject the idea of an *ad hoc* service employing its own social workers outside penal institutions, just as this idea has (for good reasons) been abandoned in compulsory after-care. If it were not to employ its own social workers in the community, a centralised service could at most be left with the functions of employing social workers in prisons and other institutions, and of being the intermediary between these workers and those giving after-care service in the community. But, as we have already argued, a centrally operated service is not essential for promoting collaboration between institutional and community workers. The appointment and control of social workers in prisons, and the setting of standards, inspection, and advice on difficult cases, can all be provided for without centralising the whole service. And we see positive advantages in decentralising responsibility for after-care so far as is compatible with the maintenance of good standards. Given a service commanding the skills needed for constructive after-care work, prisoners will be better served in the long run if responsibility for the casework they need is firmly placed on those best able to know them personally and appreciate their problems—the staff of the institutions and of the community services directly involved in the social restoration of prisoners. We accordingly reject any solution of present difficulties which would tend towards greater centralisation.

71. The conclusion we draw from this review of approaches to reform is that, if after-care is to meet the needs both of society and of the offender, major changes are necessary along the following lines:—

- (1) the amalgamation of compulsory and voluntary after-care into a common service;
- (2) the employment of professional social workers on after-care work both in penal institutions and in the community;
- (3) the decentralisation of the arrangements for after-care, accompanied by a strengthening of the lines of communication between the social worker in the institution and his colleagues in the community; and
- (4) a greatly increased understanding of the part to be played by members of the community in the rehabilitation of offenders.

In the following chapters we consider how these changes can be accomplished.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL WORK IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS

General

72. The second of the fundamental changes that we envisage (paragraph 71) is "the employment of professional social workers on after-care work both in penal institutions and in the community". It follows that, wherever after-care work is undertaken, the primary responsibility for it should be in the hands of those with an appropriate social casework training and outlook. Some of them will work from the penal institutions themselves, and they are our concern in this chapter.

73. It is clear that no single pattern of provision will meet the varying circumstances of the different institutions involved. In all, however, the keynote of the regime should be the individual rehabilitation of each inmate and his preparation for responsible freedom. This should become the conscious aim of the whole of the institution's staff. Even where this is achieved it will usually be necessary to ensure that the staff includes one or more trained social caseworkers to whom the main responsibility for after-care is entrusted. Whether or not it should be an exclusive duty or combined with some other function needs to be determined experimentally according to several factors, including the size of the institution, and the length of stay and characteristics of the inmates. What is vital is that in all establishments the daily after-care functions should be vested in one or more individuals who are adequately equipped for this duty. If after-care is to be their whole concern there is an overwhelming case for their selection and training as social caseworkers in much the same way as probation officers. If they are to have other primary duties (e.g. as borstal housemasters or housemistresses) their selection and training must equip them also to perform their after-care function.

74. We examined the suggestion made by some of our witnesses that the functions of the probation service should be extended to include work within penal institutions. This could be accomplished by requiring probation committees to provide each institution within the committee's area with one or more probation officers to carry out the duties now undertaken by prison welfare officers. The merits of this proposal are that the services of trained social caseworkers would be available to every institution, and facilities for interchange between work inside the establishment and supervision in the community would be advantageous to the officers themselves. They would belong to a single service with its comprehensive recruitment, training and salary structure. Communication between officers in their several spheres would be easy because of their common professional background.

75. On the other hand, it was pointed out, the probation service would inevitably be linked in the mind of the public, and certainly of the

prisoner, with the prison system, and this would prejudice the service's relationships with both. Moreover, it was said, a social caseworker from a service independent of the establishment he served could not expect to have the same freedom of access to its inmates as one who was a member of the staff of the establishment. About one thing we were quite clear: for after-care during sentence to be most effective there must be a concerted effort on the part of the staff of the institution, and any factor that might weaken the cohesion of that effort should be avoided. We concluded that the functions of the probation service should not be extended to include work within penal institutions, with the possible exception of detention centres. The latter normally serve localities sufficiently compact to enable a probation officer, who may be supervising a youth before his detention and after his release, to keep in touch by visiting him while in custody (see paragraph 96).

Prisons

76. In prisons the concept of teamwork by the whole staff directed to individual rehabilitation will take time to reach all individuals and levels. We now consider how this may be realised and the rôles of the various members of the team under the general authority of the governor. We start with the social caseworker—hitherto known as the prison welfare officer—but whom we prefer to describe simply as the social worker.

Social Workers

77. Public funds for the appointment of social workers in prisons, as recommended by the Maxwell Committee, were first made available to the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies in 1955 to permit an experiment at four local prisons. Two years later, the value of this pilot scheme having been established, the aim was set of appointing social workers at all local prisons by the end of 1961. The Association lost no time in tackling this formidable task. There is now a social worker in every local prison in England and Wales and at some of the larger establishments there are several. Social workers are also employed at special local prisons and at a number of regional prisons. Appendix E shows the position at 31st December 1962.

78. The system is new, its personnel has been rapidly recruited, training still needs to be developed; and the establishment of relationships, both with other members of the staff inside the prison and with allied social workers in the community, will require patience, mutual tolerance and time.

79. The social worker should have an unhurried initial interview with a prisoner as soon as possible after reception, to relieve the anxiety that is inevitable when domestic ties are suddenly disrupted, and to find out what urgently needs to be done. He should then take steps to solve any social problems left behind and to preserve family ties. Thenceforth he should be available to advise, assist and befriend the prisoner during his sentence, and to encourage him to discuss any personal problems. Casework of this kind requires the trust of the prisoner. The social worker should be in regular and frequent contact with the rest of the institutional staff through whom much of his work may be done. As soon as practicable, a plan should be made for the prisoner's reintegration in society upon his

release. Some planning will be simple; some protracted and difficult. Some plans will of necessity be indeterminate, but none should be haphazard.

80. The social worker's relationships are threefold. First, it is primarily for him to gain the prisoner's confidence and co-operation leading to his resettlement on release. Secondly, he must work harmoniously with other members of the prison team who will tell him which prisoners seem to need his help, and with whom he will discuss rehabilitation plans. Thirdly, he must work with the outside agencies whose aid the prisoner may need either while in prison or thereafter. Prison regulations should assist and not obstruct this work.

81. With these considerations in mind we approach the difficult question: how should social workers in prisons be appointed? The Maxwell Committee addressed their minds to the same question and reached the conclusion that:

"on the whole the balance of argument was against appointing these officers as members of the prison staff. The governing consideration which led to this conclusion was that, in order to keep alive the sense of interest and responsibility among members of aid societies, the status of the prison welfare officers should be such as to make it manifest that they will be the agents and advisers of the societies whose help and charitable assistance we are all so anxious to retain."^{*}

The Maxwell Committee was concerned solely with voluntary after-care administered through the local aid societies and their co-ordinating body, the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. We are charged to deal with compulsory as well as voluntary after-care. Some of the duties which we envisage for social workers in prisons could not be performed by the agents of voluntary societies.

82. Two conditions must be met. On the one hand the prisoner must have someone easy of access within the prison, to whom he can confide his problems; and on the other, the members of the prison team must be interdependent, so that the rôle of the social worker is an integral part of the life and work of the prison. We therefore propose that the social worker in a prison should be appointed by the Home Secretary.[†] The social worker would contribute his skills as do the other professional members of the team. He should possess essentially the same qualities and skills as a probation officer and he would continue to be remunerated like a probation officer (or senior probation officer where appropriate). We also recommend that the Home Office inspectors of the reconstructed probation and after-care service that we envisage (see Chapter 5) should inspect the work of social workers in prisons, who, in turn, should have direct access to inspectors for advice on any matter of social casework affecting a prisoner. The inspectorate should include experienced social

^{*}Report, paragraph 102

[†]One of our number (Mrs. Field) felt misgivings about the desirability of social workers in prisons becoming part of the prison staff, and thought that this arrangement should be kept under review.

workers, as in the present probation inspectorate. Such measures should ensure that social workers would not work in isolation from their colleagues in other institutions and in the probation and after-care service, and should facilitate interchange of staff between the two services.

83. We further recommend that there should be social workers in all prisons, including central prisons. A prisoner serving a long sentence needs the services of a social worker at the outset of his sentence and during its course as much as any other prisoner.

84. The case-load of a social worker will depend, among other things, on the type of prison, its average population, the average length of sentence served in the prison and the rate of turnover. The staff needed in each institution will, therefore, depend on these factors. There is as yet not enough experience on which to assess the maximum practical case-load for social workers in prisons, but all the evidence is that it should be much smaller than at present. We would stress, too, the importance of social workers being provided with suitable office accommodation and given adequate clerical assistance.

85. Since we hold the view that social workers in prisons should possess the same qualities and substantially the same skills as probation officers (see paragraph 82) and should continue to be remunerated like probation officers, we conclude that in the long run social workers in prisons and probation officers should share the same training. But the lack of training of most existing social workers in prisons presents an immediate problem. Few social workers in prisons have been recruited from probation and analogous fields of social work, and the training provided on entry to the service is limited to a four weeks' induction course arranged by the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. We recommend that the Probation and After-Care Training Board, whose appointment we propose in paragraph 167, should examine as soon as possible the training needs. Any *ad hoc* training arrangements that might be introduced should eventually be superseded by permanent schemes for the combined training of probation officers and social workers in prisons (see paragraph 118).

Prison officers

86. All our witnesses agreed that prison officers can and therefore must play a vital part in the work of rehabilitation, especially in prisons where an officer is charged with particular responsibility for a small group of prisoners. Of all who work in prisons, he is the one who deals with the smallest number of men, and so is in a position to learn, in the course of everyday contacts at work, training and recreation, a good deal about individual prisoners and their families and the kind of help needed. The prison officer may be the first person to observe that a prisoner is disturbed by some personal anxiety. By enlisting the aid of the social worker a difficulty may be quickly resolved which, unless the prisoner himself seeks help, may effectively retard his progress.

87. We are aware of various schemes designed to involve prison officers in this work, and we welcome them. But we recognise the practical difficulties in many prisons, particularly local prisons with large floating populations and frequent escort duties to the courts to be undertaken. The

present conditions of overcrowding make it virtually impossible for the prison officer to get to know many of his charges sufficiently well, but we hope it will become customary for the prison officer in all prisons positively to assist the social worker. If he is to do this, he must be better equipped to understand prisoners as individuals with problems, and to develop a positive and helpful relationship with them. For these purposes the prison officer needs training which will make him aware of new methods and skills and enable him to understand how such work can be reconciled with discipline and security. Courses at the Prison Officers' Training School at Wakefield should, we suggest, place more stress on the study of human behaviour, group work, the contribution the prison officer can make to the prisoner's rehabilitation and after-care, personally and in collaboration with the social worker with whose special functions he should be made familiar.

Co-ordination of social casework

88. We have referred to the functions of the social worker in prison, and to the rôle of the prison officer in bringing to early notice personal problems affecting a prisoner. The other members of the prison team, and particularly those in the chaplain's department, have equally important rôles in their own spheres in contributing to effective social casework, through concern for the prisoner as an individual, and their skill in identifying those with personal and social problems.

89. Lack of co-ordination sometimes leads to contact being made with an outside agency by more than one staff member. Such duplication can best be avoided if the social worker in prison normally deals with all case-work communication with outside agencies; and he should know of any contact made with them by other members of the team.

90. The governor, with his overall responsibility, must be the leader of the team. Moreover, while each member of his staff will contribute his particular skills, it will be for the governor to provide inspiration, encouragement and the help needed for consistent teamwork directed to the genuine rehabilitation of each prisoner.

Borstal institutions

Boys

91. Borstal training is essentially a remedial and educational system which seeks to check the delinquency of young persons by first discovering their capacities and potentialities as individuals—moral, mental, physical and vocational—and then bringing such personal influences and training to bear as are most likely to stimulate the best in them.

92. Borstal institutions are organised in houses. The housemaster (an assistant governor II) is, under the governor, responsible not only for the general administration of his house, but also for the personal training and guidance of each of the fifty or more boys comprising it. Thus the basic responsibility for the success of borstal training rests upon his shoulders; he must know each boy and his home background; he must be aware of the outside influences that may have had some bearing on the boy's delinquency or affected his attitude to society, and with which the boy may have to contend when he goes out. The housemaster is thus well placed to fulfil, as a natural extension of his present training functions, the after-care

functions performed in prison by a specialist social worker. We believe it to be possible and desirable to entrust the main social casework functions in boys' borstals to the housemasters, provided their recruitment and training are revised with these extended duties in mind. Then specialist social workers would not be needed in borstals. Indeed, their appointment might discourage the housemaster from accepting the responsibility for after-care planning which we believe to be within his capacity. A housemaster will be expected to be well-informed about those social problems which are met in after-care, and this experience will be of value to him when, in the normal course of his career, he becomes a governor and has a more general responsibility in these matters.

93. There are, however, arguments on the other side. Most housemasters are not particularly well equipped by training and experience for after-care functions. Their training deals mainly with the administration of penal institutions and not with social casework, while their after-care experience has been limited by the responsibility for after-care planning now vested in the Borstal Division of the Central After-Care Association. How far and how soon this can be remedied is so uncertain that specialist social workers may be necessary, at any rate as a temporary measure, and perhaps permanently, in institutions dealing with the more difficult types of case. We believe that the housemaster's competence in social casework should be built up sufficiently to enable him to be responsible for after-care. We do not, however, rule out the possible need in some borstals to appoint, exceptionally, specialist social workers. Where such appointments were made, they would have the added advantage that the presence of a skilled social worker would contribute to the social work education of the borstal staff.

94. Improving the competence of the borstal housemaster in social work has a short-term and a long-term aspect. The short-term aspect is discussed in paragraph 119, since it also concerns probation officers and social workers in prisons. The long-term aspect needs much thought, since housemasters are not recruited and trained as such but as assistant governors (grade II) in the prison service. Though it is usual for assistant governors to begin their careers as borstal housemasters, all are potential prison governors. Accordingly, they cannot be trained simply as social workers. But the present training schemes for assistant governors at Wakefield do not provide adequate preparation for the extended social work functions we are postulating for borstal housemasters. Though the Wakefield courses have a certain social science content, they are primarily concerned with the management of persons in custody. For their extended duties housemasters will need a deeper and longer grounding in casework methods (including group work), taught by experienced social workers; a widened practical knowledge of social and behavioural problems affecting young delinquents and of the relevant social services in the community; and spells of practical experience not only in penal institutions but in probation and other community agencies. Since improvements in recruitment and training of borstal staffs are crucial to the development of a decentralised after-care service such as we envisage, we hope that they can be an early concern of the Probation and After-Care Training Board (see paragraph 167).

Girls

95. All that we have said in paragraphs 91-94 about the future role of housemasters in after-care applies in principle equally to girls' borstals and their housemistresses. But in girls' borstals the case for the employment of specialist social workers is stronger as the task is even more formidable. Experience has shown that girls sentenced to borstal training are likely to be more deeply disturbed and less responsive than boys so sentenced, so that there is great difficulty in establishing a relationship of confidence with girls. The need for expert family social work, in co-operation with the appropriate community agencies, is as great as in the case of boys.

Detention Centres

96. The normal duration of an order of detention in a detention centre is three months, and up to 400 boys may pass through a particular centre in a year. This precludes the staff from getting to know many of their charges intimately, and there is little or no scope for the appointment of officers with functions similar to those of borstal housemasters. We understand that in these circumstances each detention centre is being authorised to appoint a full-time social worker. But the disciplinary staff will need to be specially alert if the social worker is to be assisted in identifying during the short period of their detention those inmates with the greatest need. While, therefore, it is too early to judge the merits of these appointments, we welcome this development. Detention centres normally have the advantage of fairly limited catchment areas. Visits by parents and contact with the social worker are thus facilitated. Arrangements for social casework in detention centres should however be kept flexible. The probation officer, who may be supervising a youth before his detention and after his release, may help by visiting the youth at the detention centre or by keeping in touch with his family. If it is found that most detention centres need their own social workers, they should be recruited and trained in the same way as social workers in prisons and probation officers. It will be for the Probation and After-Care Training Board to examine the training needs.

CHAPTER 5

AFTER-CARE IN THE COMMUNITY

Defining the need

97. The current edition of the publication "Prisons and Borstals" states that "modern methods of prison treatment seek the social rehabilitation of the offender, endeavouring to prepare him to take his place once more as a normal member of society, and to help him to retain the feeling that he is still part of the community and that the community takes a continuing interest in his welfare. But this effort may be fruitless unless the difficult transition to life in the world outside the prison gates is helped and guided by a humane and efficient system of after-care, and unless the community is prepared to receive him as one who has a right to such a place in it as he may establish by his efforts to succeed".

98. More is required of the community than the provision of material help. While a person about to be discharged from a penal institution needs to have deficiencies in clothing made good and to be given immediate financial aid, these provisions are incidental to the main task. The prime purpose of after-care in the community is to offer the discharged prisoner the friendship, guidance and moral support that he needs if he is to surmount the difficulties that face him in the outside world. Those difficulties are often of a personal or domestic nature ; they have sometimes contributed to his former delinquency and may impede his full and lasting social readjustment.

99. Some discharged persons need little or no help ; for others after-care support during their first few weeks of freedom is sufficient. But many require skilled rehabilitative help for a long time, if a return to prison is to be prevented. In their report on "The After-Care and Supervision of Discharged Prisoners" the Advisory Council identified the categories of offenders most likely to be in special need of guidance and help on release and so to have first priority in any extension of compulsory after-care. The Council considered whether, since a particular offender's need for after-care seemed to spring from his character and circumstances rather than from his membership of a particular penal category, individual selection for compulsory after-care was practicable. They concluded that it was not, in the absence of satisfactory criteria by which to select individuals ; but they recognised that, if research were able to show what factors in an offender's character and circumstances were relevant to the need for after-care, this would facilitate an objective approach to the problem of selection.* The present system of dividing categories of offenders between compulsory or voluntary after-care, as the case may be, inevitably disregards individual needs. Some of those in the categories covered by voluntary after-care require skilled guidance and help no less than many who are subject to compulsory after-care.

100. We have already recorded our view (paragraph 19) that the same quality of guidance and help ought to be available to all discharged persons, whether they are released to compulsory or to voluntary after-care. The only distinction between the two forms of after-care should lie in the legal consequences of failure to respond. The discharged person under compulsory after-care is subject to revocation of licence and consequent recall if he fails to co-operate ; voluntary after-care may be accepted or rejected at will. Our recommendations (see Chapter 4) for social care while in custody are designed to secure that such care will be applied according to individual need. We think that the future structure of after-care in the community ought also to ensure that after-care according to individual need will be available regardless of whether it is compulsory or voluntary. To achieve this common standard of after-care it is essential that responsibility for its organisation should be vested in a single service.

A separate after-care service?

101. We began by considering whether this service should be an *ad hoc* organisation specialising in after-care and employing its own social workers in the community, as proposed by some of our witnesses. Its social workers would need qualities and skills similar to those of probation officers. A separate service would therefore compete for staff in the same depleted field

* Report, paragraphs 31-33.

of recruitment as does the probation service, with the handicap that a new and untried service might seem less attractive to potential applicants than the probation service. Moreover, the full-time officers of a comparatively small part-contained after-care service would necessarily be stationed for the most part in the larger centres of population where the bulk of the work lies. Discharged persons residing elsewhere would not have the ease of access to their after-care officer that they would to the local probation officer. We have already shown how similar considerations led those responsible for compulsory after-care to rely increasingly on the probation service for their casework.

102. Another objection to creating a separate after-care service is that this would tend to perpetuate the fragmentary approach to problems of delinquency. Many persons discharged to after-care have been, at an earlier stage, on probation or otherwise a concern of the probation service. The trend of penal policy today is towards closer integration of the various services concerned with the treatment of offenders. An example of this is to be seen in the recent amalgamation of the Prison Commission with the Home Office as provided for in the Criminal Justice Act, 1961. In introducing this measure in Parliament the Home Secretary referred to his concern with the reformatory aspects of prison treatment and their development in relation to other kinds of treatment. He expressed the hope that the Prison Commission might become a part of a wider organisation covering all Home Office responsibility for criminal justice and the treatment of offenders.

An enlarged probation and after-care service

103. There is clearly a strong case for concentrating in a single service social work in the community with delinquents, whether they are probationers or offenders released from correctional establishments. We agree with the view of the Morison Committee that "within the home and family environment, there is a broad band of social casework which probation officers can appropriately undertake because it is concerned with offenders and others who have come into the ambit of the courts. After-care comes in this category. The employment of probation officers as after-care agents may also, in many cases, provide a useful homogeneity in the approach to, and responsibility for, an offender at different stages in his career".* This is one of the advantages that has resulted from the present use of probation officers to supervise the majority of those discharged to compulsory after-care. As the Advisory Council observed in their report on "The After-Care and Supervision of Discharged Prisoners", "the probation service combines, like no other organised body, the two essentials for effective after-care. It is composed of trained social workers . . . and it is so spread over the whole country that a discharged prisoner will seldom live more than a few miles from his supervisor, with the result that if a crisis occurs in his rehabilitation, help and advice are readily available".†

104. We have therefore concluded that after-care in the community, both compulsory and voluntary, should be undertaken by an expanded and reorganised probation and after-care service. We have reached this conclusion despite two factors that some witnesses suggested might impede the work of probation officers with discharged persons. The first was that some offenders

* Report, paragraph 104.

† Report, paragraph 27.

resent after-care and do so the more if their after-care officer was formerly their probation officer, who perhaps, by reporting unfavourably to the court, contributed to the decision to impose a custodial sentence. We are not satisfied that this resentment is widespread. Moreover, one of the objects of our recommendations for care while in custody is to break down the tendency to resent after-care by inducing an understanding of its purpose. Where the offender returns to the care of a probation officer whom he has known earlier, much will depend on the relationship that was then established; and, in any case where there is real difficulty, we understand that arrangements can often be made for another officer to supervise.

105. The second, and more serious, criticism expressed to us was that after-care is, in practice, the "Cinderella" of the probation service. The Morison Committee concluded that "probation and case committees and, to a degree, probation officers themselves, tend to regard after-care work as extraneous to the normal functions of the probation officer, and, hence, to give it insufficient attention in considering staffing needs or to give other work priority over it at a time of pressure."* We also received this impression. The assumption by the probation service on a large scale of responsibility for after-care would clearly require a new approach.

106. It follows that an expansion of the probation service in England and Wales to deal with after-care on the lines we have recommended must be accompanied by a reorganisation of that service. The probation service would in future extend beyond its hitherto accepted role of a social service of the courts. That part of its work concerned with after-care would be carried out, not upon the courts' directions, but as a continuation in the community of treatment begun in custody as a result of sentences imposed by the courts. We consider that it would be appropriate for these two primary functions of the service to be reflected in its title and we recommend, therefore, that it should become the "Probation and After-Care Service".

The scope of after-care work

Compulsory after-care

107. The after-care work undertaken by the probation service will in any event be greatly enlarged when compulsory after-care is extended to all the new categories of offenders prescribed in the Criminal Justice Act, 1961. It is expected that the probation and after-care service will then have to cope with something of the order of 6,000-7,000 discharged adults each year (comprising categories (c), (d) and (e) in paragraph 26 and categories (a), (b) and (c) in paragraph 27), as compared with about 600 at present (see paragraph 34). About 6,000-7,000 offenders under 21 may be expected in due course to be released from detention centres to after-care by probation and after-care officers. Eventually, it seems likely that compulsory after-care (including approved school children) will account for about one quarter of the whole case-load of the probation and after-care service, against only one eighth of the present case-load.†

* Report, paragraph 106.

† Omitting approved school children, compulsory after-care of persons released from penal institutions is likely to account for one fifth of the whole case-load, compared with one tenth at present.

Voluntary after-care

108. Under our proposals, the probation and after-care service would be responsible also for meeting such demands as may be made by some proportion of the 45,000 other adults annually discharged from prisons. It is impossible to estimate how many of these persons will seek after-care. Prison welfare officers vary greatly in their assessments of the extent to which prisoners not discharged to compulsory supervision are likely to require after-care services of one kind or another. Experience suggests that, as the casework training of social workers employed in prisons is improved, they will discover a need for after-care in an increasing proportion of persons. How many will accept after-care must be speculative, as is the number of those whose needs will be limited to practical assistance in getting settled in home and employment immediately on discharge; but there cannot be any doubt that a substantial increase in the volume of the work is inevitable.

Welfare work with prisoners' families

109. What can be broadly described as casework in the community on behalf of prisoners may also be expected to make increasing calls on the time of the probation and after-care service. The importance and extent of this work, which we discuss in Chapter 6, has grown with the appointment of social workers in prisons and will no doubt continue to develop.

Specialisation in after-care

110. Plans for meeting the needs of offenders on release should be made while they are still in custody. Nevertheless, immediately on regaining their freedom many prisoners will have needs which are more complicated and may be much more urgent than those of most probationers, who have not suffered the same disruption of their lives. Although these immediate difficulties may not endure, they will often be acute in the first few days or weeks of freedom. Advice, introductions, companionship, a steadying hand—someone to speak for a man and help him to regain self-respect and keep alive the will to go straight—all these things, if promptly given, may swing the balance away from recidivism. After-care and probation call for similar skills in the caseworker, but the tempo may need to differ appreciably. The officer dealing with men discharged to compulsory supervision, each of whom has been instructed to report to him personally at a specified time and place, must be there, ready to give the full time that each ex-prisoner requires. And the discharging authority will expect prompt reporting of any man who fails to keep his initial appointment. Even though an officer may not personally see every man applying for voluntary after-care who comes by arrangement with the prison social worker, still less the many discharged prisoners who just drop in, he will be responsible for the arrangements for voluntary after-care in his area and for enlisting the support of other agencies. Accordingly, we recommend that there should be specialised after-care facilities wherever justified by the volume of work.

111. Special facilities would be neither feasible nor necessary in country districts and small towns. In some other places the object may be achieved by fixing particular hours or days on which different classes

of ex-prisoners and probationers are seen. But in the larger urban centres it would be important to carry specialisation further: some members of the probation and after-care service should specialise on after-care work for a period.

112. In arguing for a measure of specialisation we may appear to conflict with the Morison Committee's view that "there should not be any general movement towards specialisation [by probation officers] in particular types of work, such as after-care or matrimonial conciliation".* But that Committee was not envisaging, as we are, a single field service combining probation work with responsibility for the whole range of after-care, voluntary as well as compulsory. We are not proposing a "general movement" towards specialisation, or suggesting specialisation as a life-long commitment of an individual officer. We propose simply a division of functions among members of a single service with a diversity of duties, such as would permit them, according to their particular aptitudes and inclinations and the needs of the work, to concentrate on one or other of these duties for spells of varying length during the course of their service. We think, too, that much would be gained by encouraging interchange of personnel between the probation and after-care service and social work in prisons. In the first few years of the expanded probation and after-care service there will also be a particular place for officers giving their full time to after-care, in that an intensive effort will be needed to give impetus to the after-care aspect of the service, to build up new machinery of collaboration with the social workers in penal institutions and with voluntary agencies, and to enlist new sources of help.

A new range of duties

113. The Morison Committee recommended that the small probation areas still remaining should be merged in larger administrative units so that, so far as practicable, every probation area should have a principal probation officer. In the service we envisage he would be renamed "principal probation and after-care officer" and would bear the same responsibility for after-care as for probation.

114. Thus there would be for the first time, covering each part of the country, a public authority whose principal officer would be responsible to it for taking a comprehensive view of the whole range of after-care needs and services. He would have equal responsibility for the after-care offered as a voluntary service to the majority of discharged prisoners and for the compulsory after-care of the minority. One of his main duties would be to enlist volunteers for personal service and to harness and stimulate the work of the voluntary organisations and public agencies which would be contributing to after-care.

115. This work of organising and development would be specially important during the crucial early years when the probation and after-care service was being built up to cover its wider duties. It would be necessary, at any rate in the larger areas, for someone to devote the whole or most of his time to it. Therefore, in these larger areas, the probation and after-care committee should assign one of their officers to take immediate responsibility, under the principal probation and after-care officer, for the oversight of after-care activities.

* Report, paragraph 215 and Recommendation (73).

116. The after-care functions we envisage would be:

- (a) casework with dependants of persons serving custodial sentences;
- (b) participation in pre-discharge planning of community after-care for those to be released to compulsory supervision, including
 - (i) correspondence and consultation with social workers at prisons and detention centres, the staffs of borstals and the appropriate central authorities;
 - (ii) arrangements for pre-release home leave, reports on home conditions, and the like;
- (c) similar participation in pre-discharge planning for those accepting voluntary after-care;
- (d) after-care casework, with both compulsory and voluntary categories;
- (e) building up contacts with employers, landladies, hostels, clubs, and so on;
- (f) giving help and advice in the initiation and development of new projects to meet special needs;
- (g) finding voluntary auxiliaries to work in regular association with the service's professional staff.

117. To assist the pre-release planning of after-care and to ensure that the staffs of penal institutions were not left in ignorance of the effects of their work with individual offenders, it would be important that officers of the probation and after-care service should make periodic reports to the interested institutions on the progress of individual discharged persons under care in the community. This could not be applied to everybody immediately and no doubt a system of priorities would be worked out.

118. The Morison Committee recognised that it was essential that probation officers should be prepared in their training for the special problems of after-care;* but they discussed training largely in administrative terms because they did not think it within their province to make detailed recommendations about the content of training.† Our proposals will place probation officers in a new situation, in that the present large preponderance of young people and of first offenders in their case-loads will be notably diminished. As we have shown in paragraph 107, compulsory after-care cases are eventually likely to rise from an eighth to a quarter of the service's total case-load; and there may be a large flow of adults seeking after-care voluntarily, including many who are recidivists and some who are homeless and friendless too. The probation and after-care officer will need a good understanding of the institutional branch of the penal system and of actual conditions in every kind of correctional establishment; knowledge of the special features of casework among inmates of correctional establishments; and insight into the problems of "institutionalisation" and "resocialisation" inherent in prolonged segregation from society, aggravated as they are for those who are homeless and friendless. Training on these lines would be equally suitable and necessary for social workers in prisons (paragraph 85) and may be needed for social workers at detention centres (paragraph 96).

* Report, paragraph 107.

† Report, paragraph 292.

119. The Morison Committee recognised that refresher training courses were essential to enable the probation service to assimilate new and expanding duties.* In-service courses bearing on after-care will be specially necessary. The need for reorientation will be even greater for borstal house staffs. Decentralisation of after-care presupposes a much better acquaintance between probation officers, social workers in prisons, borstal housemasters and housemistresses, and approved school staffs. Preparing the new after-care system will require not only reorientation courses but also opportunities for discussion and joint study for these different but complementary groups of workers.

Voluntary help

The task for the after-care auxiliary

120. We have recognised (paragraphs 45-58) the valuable work done for ex-prisoners by voluntary organisations and individuals, in particular the prisoners' aid societies, on whom the bulk of such work has fallen for upwards of a century: their devoted service, always exacting and often unrewarding, is indicative of the concern of many in the community to help the former offender to re-establish himself.

121. When the probation and after-care service proposed earlier in this chapter is established there will still be an indispensable part to be played by voluntary workers as auxiliaries to probation and after-care officers. The main need of many offenders is for simple encouragement, friendship and human understanding, which could be given by sincere and warm-hearted auxiliaries who had sound common sense and the ability to make themselves acceptable to those whom they sought to help.

122. Probation officers, at present, have a statutory duty to supervise personally those assigned to them, whether on probation or for after-care, and they have not generally enlisted the help of voluntary workers. The great expansion of after-care work that we envisage will radically alter the situation. The number of offenders under 21 discharged to compulsory after-care each year may ultimately increase from some 7,000 to 11,000 or so. In the case of adult offenders, the expected increase is from 600 to about 6,000, while the last figure might be exceeded by the number of adults voluntarily seeking after-care. It will be impossible for the probation and after-care service to undertake this formidable task unaided. If after-care is to be adequate, the help of many voluntary workers, drawn from all walks of life, will be essential. This dependence upon them is to be welcomed as being consonant with that growing concern of the community for ex-offenders which we so greatly wish to foster.

123. So long, however, as there are two categories of after-care, compulsory and voluntary, with sanctions for unsatisfactory response to the former alone, the probation and after-care officer's responsibilities must also differ. He cannot divest himself of personal responsibility in compulsory after-care: for example, he alone can report to the appropriate authority on the question of recall. Moreover, every person subject to compulsory after-care is entitled to claim direct access to the probation and after-care officer.

* Report, paragraph 330.

124. The particular need of an individual will not necessarily depend on the category of after-care to which the law assigns him. The straightforward help required by many persons in both categories could well be given by auxiliaries to the relief of the probation and after-care officer. This would involve some change in the outlook of probation officers towards after-care, as was foreseen by their representatives who gave evidence. The new arrangement would demand a notable partnership between the professional after-care officer and the voluntary workers chosen and equipped to support him. Moreover, it might be desirable in some instances for the after-care auxiliary, like the probation and after-care officer, to be enabled to visit a prisoner whom he was to befriend on release. After-care auxiliaries would be expected to report regularly on their progress with cases assigned to them.

Recruiting auxiliaries

125. Witnesses assured us that many people would come forward to offer voluntary service as auxiliaries if a call were made to them in terms both clear and practical telling them how and where their help was required. Such a call, we believe, must be sounded nationally by a central authority. We indicate below some of the likely recruiting grounds.

126. Those members of local prisoners' aid societies who are already engaged upon this particular work will naturally be drawn towards the new auxiliary service, for which many of them have aptitude and experience. We hope that the proposals in this report will give them more time to devote themselves, in co-operation with the probation and after-care officers, to the personal welfare of the ex-prisoner. Another fruitful source of recruitment might be through local bodies, such as the Blackfriars Settlement and the New Bridge, which undertake the befriending of ex-prisoners with the assistance of voluntary helpers.

127. We learned from the National Association of Prison Visitors that over eight hundred men and women, selected as prison visitors, go regularly to the prisons in England and Wales, to befriend almost all prisoners, except those serving short sentences. Some visitors keep in touch with prisoners after release, although this practice is not general. Here is a considerable body of men and women, some of whom might well be willing to extend their service to after-care in the local community.

128. We believe that there are many in the churches who would welcome an opportunity of making a larger contribution in this field of Christian service. The Social Responsibility Department of the British Council of Churches has recently mounted a few pilot schemes.

129. Various national voluntary organisations assured us of their sympathy in any campaign to recruit after-care auxiliaries. These are organisations which have units throughout the country and are equipped to undertake campaigns of their own in response to stimulus by a central authority. Doubtless other organisations too, both local and national, could arouse interest among their members in active participation in after-care.

130. Finally, there are many persons, unattached to any voluntary organisation, who are well fitted to be after-care auxiliaries. They must be

discovered, and the best recruiting agents will often be the probation and after-care officers and their after-care auxiliaries through their wide contacts in the community.

Selection and training of auxiliaries

131. There are certain dangers attached to selecting persons to work with prisoners and we wish to stress the importance of careful selection, perhaps involving some period of probationary service.

132. As to training, it is necessary to stress that this is not work for inexperienced amateurs. It requires a warm heart but also a clear head, compassion combined with insight, lack of illusion, and preparedness for disappointment. Most after-care auxiliaries will find their good intentions more effectively translated into rewarding achievement if they can have some training and can work under the regular guidance of professional social workers. The point is well made in a different context by the Young-husband Report :*

"If voluntary workers are asked to give regular time, and to take appropriate responsibility, there then exists an obligation to equip them to do the job competently. Training is essential if voluntary workers are to give their services knowledgeably and acceptably, and training can help them to feel an integral part of the service. It is particularly important if they are to recognise when the situation requires a professionally trained worker or a different service".

Most voluntary workers with the necessary interest and aptitude for after-care would not, however, have the time to undertake an extensive training programme, nor would it be reasonable to expect this of them. Given interest and aptitude, the most effective training is "guided practice" combined with "training seminars". By this we mean after-care work under the guidance of a probation and after-care officer who is personally concerned with the cases the auxiliary has undertaken to help (cf. paragraph 57). After a short induction course—spread over several evenings or weekends—to give the background to the auxiliary's work, with particular reference to the kind of persons and problems he may expect to encounter, one or two cases would be assigned to the auxiliary. The probation and after-care officer would retain his responsibility for the cases, would require regular reports from the auxiliary, and would make it clear to the auxiliary that all matters relating to the cases were confidential. The auxiliary should feel that he can count on the advice and support of the probation and after-care officer at all times and should continue his training by discussion with him. These private consultations should be supplemented by case conferences at which a group of auxiliaries meet together with their probation and after-care officers to share experiences and discuss current problems. A simple manual for voluntary workers in after-care would also be of great value.

133. Ways and means of arranging induction courses and continuing "in-service" training for auxiliaries will be a matter for consideration by the Central Council for Probation and After-Care (see paragraph 165).

* Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services, H.M.S.O., 1959, paragraph 1059.

Other tasks for voluntary effort

134. We do not regard the contribution of the various religious bodies and voluntary organisations in the local community as being limited to the finding of auxiliaries. Many such organisations, both local and national, are already participating in the rehabilitation of discharged offenders in other ways. Some work with prisoners' families, others provide clubrooms where lonely ex-prisoners can find a welcome. Others again interest employers in offering work to ex-prisoners, or householders in accepting them as lodgers. Some organisations have established hostels for the homeless and there is great need for more provision of this kind. The need for hostels for special groups has been strongly impressed upon us. Drawing attention to the special needs of persistent offenders for after-care, the Advisory Council, in their recent report on "Preventive Detention",* have suggested that many such offenders require the support of a residential institution for a considerable time after their release and in some cases for the rest of their lives. In all these directions and others to be devised there is scope for voluntary effort that we desire to see encouraged and expanded.

135. But if these voluntary efforts are to have direction and purpose they need to be co-ordinated and stimulated both locally and nationally. In Chapters 7 and 8 we recommend the setting up of machinery for this purpose.

CHAPTER 6

THE FAMILIES OF OFFENDERS

136. Many of our witnesses drew attention to the importance of including offenders' families within the ambit of after-care. This is desirable in the first instance to meet the immediate anxieties of the offender, and the immediate needs of his family who sometimes have to face the loss of their breadwinner. Even where the family is otherwise sound, the longer-term economic and social consequences may lead to stresses adversely affecting both the marital relationship and the welfare of children. In many cases domestic troubles have already been present and may indeed have contributed to the commission of the offences. Here the skill of the probation and after-care officer can be used to endeavour that the offender returns to better home relationships than prevailed at the time of his conviction.

Making contact with the family

137. Women's Voluntary Service have recognised the need of offenders' families for social help and are operating a scheme at the Surrey Quarter Sessions (with the support of the Chairman and the co-operation of police and probation officers) under which the offender, or his family if in court, are asked, either by the police or the probation officer, whether a home visit by a member of Women's Voluntary Service would be welcome. Where the offer is accepted, there is no delay in ascertaining and dealing with the immediate needs of the family. This scheme has recently been extended to the Hertfordshire Quarter Sessions and the Surrey Assizes.

* Report published 1963, paragraphs 44-45 and 74-75.

138. While not all families need help or would welcome it if offered, early contact with others could be the means of easing difficulties at a stage when they loom largest. Under our proposals, an approach to the family would be made at the discretion of the probation and after-care officer, either in court, if a member of the family were present at that time, or as soon as possible thereafter. From the point of view of building up a relationship of confidence with the prisoner, the approach would ordinarily be made with his prior knowledge and, it would be hoped, in most cases with his co-operation. Close liaison between the probation and after-care officer and the social worker at the institution in which the offender is detained will be essential to ensure that the problems of the prisoner and of his family are seen and dealt with as a whole.

Co-ordination of social work with families

139. Though the probation and after-care service will be responsible for seeing that help is given in a particular case, the most appropriate course will often be to refer the family to an agency specialising in family problems. The probation and after-care services will incidentally be at pains to avoid overlapping of work with a family by different agencies, about which some of our witnesses expressed concern.

140. The Children and Young Persons Bill*, at present before Parliament, provides that "it shall be the duty of every local authority to make available such advice, guidance and assistance as may promote the welfare of children by diminishing the need to receive children into or keep them in care . . . or to bring children before a juvenile court." Some families of offenders would no doubt come within the scope of the arrangements to be made by local authorities under this provision.

Maintaining family ties

141. Visits to a prisoner by members of his family play a particularly important part in preserving the family relationship during his detention. We are glad to learn therefore that, in proper cases, the National Assistance Board, in addition to assisting relatives to visit for special purposes—for example, where there is important business to be settled—are prepared to consider applications for assisted visits, at quarterly intervals, to a prisoner serving a sentence of more than three months. We believe that much more can be done by visits than by correspondence. After-care auxiliaries could help to ensure that visits by wives who have young children were not frustrated by difficulties in finding someone to mind the children while their mother was away. There might be occasions when the prisoner and his visitor together could usefully discuss their problems with the social worker at the prison.

Sexual offenders

142. The care of the families of men sentenced for sexual offences will often demand special skill, particularly in cases of incest where the protection of the children may be thought to require their removal from the family home if the offender is to return to it on release. We recommend that the local children's authority should be given at least three months' notice of

* Now the Children and Young Persons Act, 1963.

the impending discharge of an offender sentenced for incest and that the notification should be accompanied wherever possible by a psychiatric report.

Mothers in prison

143. When a mother is sent to prison, the consequences for the family can be particularly serious. Separation of the children from the father, either to stay with relatives or friends or to be received into the care of the local authority, may be unavoidable. The resultant dislocation of the home may give rise to special problems of rehabilitation for the family. We received evidence that all too often where children are received into the care of the local authority in these circumstances, there is difficulty in subsequently restoring them to their homes, either because of some instability which makes it unlikely that the parent or parents will ever resume responsibility for the children's care, or because of the disappearance or separation of the parents. We believe that the provision of suitable training and treatment for inadequate or neglectful mothers while they are in prison can make an important contribution to their rehabilitation on release, with consequent advantage to their families. We welcome the special arrangements at Holloway prison for the training of neglectful mothers, and we express the hope that these arrangements will be further developed in the light of experience. But if rehabilitation is to be effective it must also include the preparation of the father and of the children, and must start as long as possible before the mother's release. This calls for positive and close co-ordination of all the social work agencies involved.

CHAPTER 7

THE LOCAL ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF AFTER-CARE

144. Outside the metropolitan magistrates' courts area (in which the Home Secretary is the probation authority), responsibility for the local administration and supervision of the probation service is vested by statute in probation committees composed of justices. There is a probation committee for each of the 102 extra-metropolitan probation areas in England and Wales, most of them comprising a geographical county. Thirty-six cities and county boroughs, and a few other petty sessional divisions, are "single" probation areas. Each of the 850 petty sessional divisions situated within a "combined" area has a case committee composed of justices. In the single areas the probation committee is also the case committee. Including London, the service is thus divided among 103 administrative units, some of which are too small to support a chief officer with the rank of principal probation officer. The consolidation proposed by the Morrison Committee* might result in reducing the number of separate administrative units to about 80, nearly all of which would employ at least six probation officers and would be headed by a principal officer. We are therefore envisaging a public after-care service which would eventually be the responsibility of some 80 statutory committees and principal officers combining this work with the present responsibility for probation.

* Report, paragraph 174.

Constitution of probation and case committees

145. To describe its new functions we recommend that the probation committee should in future be called the "probation and after-care committee". The justices who serve on probation committees and case committees are familiar with the probation functions of the service. But while some justices may have taken a particular interest in after-care many will have had little opportunity of becoming acquainted with its problems. If the proposals in our report are implemented, heavy additional responsibilities will fall on the committees. While we know that justices will interest themselves closely in the after-care functions, just as they have in full measure in the development of the probation service, we consider that from the outset the committees will need the assistance of members with the widest possible knowledge or experience of after-care and its particular problems. We think that the constitution of the committees should be broadened to meet this need, and to reflect what will become a substantial part of the functions of a greatly expanded service.

146. Probation committees and case committees now have power to co-opt to membership persons who are not justices, being persons with such experience as would enable them to assist the committee in its work. We consider that this provision, which we understand has been little used, would not be sufficient to ensure the broadening of the constitution to which we attach importance.

147. We have given considerable thought to ways in which the services of suitable persons other than justices might be enlisted to assist in the organisation and development of after-care, and have concluded, as regards probation and after-care committees in single areas and case committees in combined areas, that this could best be achieved by providing that one fourth of the number of persons forming such a committee should be non-justices being persons with knowledge or experience of after-care.* We recommend accordingly. The appointing bodies would continue to be the justices acting for each petty sessional division.

148. The justices serving on a combined area probation committee are appointed by the justices acting for the several petty sessional divisions comprised in the area, the number of justices from each division being specified in the combining order made by the Home Secretary. The procedure proposed in the preceding paragraph could not be applied to probation and after-care committees in combined areas, if only because the number of divisions concerned would always be greatly in excess of the number of non-justices to be appointed to the combined area committee. Moreover, we have learned that the membership of probation committees in many combined areas is already of such a size (due to the need for each division to be represented) that it would not be feasible generally to increase the membership by a specified proportion without making some committees too unwieldy in size.† We recommend, therefore, that the justices appointed to a combined area probation and after-care committee should themselves be required to appoint to membership

* The number of members on single area probation committees at present ranges from 3 to 12 or, exceptionally, up to 18 or so.

† The number of members on combined area probation committees at present ranges from 14 to 74.

of the committee non-justices, being persons with knowledge or experience of after-care, to a number specified by the Home Secretary in the combining order (or in a supplementary order).

149. We think also that it would be of value if the practice were adopted of inviting senior members of staff of some at least of the correctional establishments in the area to attend, in a consultative capacity, meetings of the probation and after-care committee when matters affecting after-care were to be discussed.

150. The Probation Rules provide that the clerk to the justices or one of his assistants should be secretary of the case committee. We recognise that the enlarged duties and responsibilities of case committees will lay an additional burden upon their secretaries. This could be alleviated by making use of the provision in Rule 26 (3) of the Probation Rules, 1949, which enables the secretary, with the approval of the committee's chairman, to arrange for a probation officer to act as secretary when some members of the committee meet to deal with particular classes of cases. This might prove especially helpful in those localities where there is specialisation in after-care work.

Area Auxiliary After-Care Committees

151. There will be need to bring together the various local organisations, which would include the churches, actively concerned with after-care (see paragraphs 134-135). To this end, we recommend that there should be formed in each probation and after-care area an Area Auxiliary After-Care Committee representative of the local community interests, including as a matter of course the probation and after-care service. The task of the committee would include the recruitment of after-care auxiliaries; the initiation and co-ordination of voluntary after-care projects, such as the establishment of hostels for ex-offenders; and the promotion of amenity funds. We think it appropriate that the secretaryship of the area auxiliary after-care committee should be an honorary post. It might be found desirable in some large combined areas to form also local auxiliary after-care committees to supplement in particular districts the work of the area auxiliary committee. Thus we would regard London, whose special after-care problems are discussed in paragraph 174, as pre-eminently an area where a number of local auxiliary after-care committees will be needed.

152. The responsibility for seeing that area auxiliary after-care committees were set up would rest with the Home Secretary, who would be advised by the Central Council for Probation and After-Care (see paragraph 165) as to the size and constitution of the committees. We recommend that the Home Secretary, in seeking to establish a committee in a particular area, should, in consultation with the probation and after-care committee, consider inviting the civic leaders of that area to call a meeting of interested local bodies who are prepared to take an active part in after-care, with a view to those bodies subsequently nominating persons for appointment to the area auxiliary after-care committee. Persons so appointed would speak in a personal capacity on the committee and not as representatives of particular organisations.

THE CENTRAL ORGANISATION OF AFTER-CARE

Need for a central organisation

153. Our recommendation that after-care in the community should be the responsibility of an enlarged probation and after-care service carries with it certain implications about the nature of the central organisation of after-care. Under the system which we propose, the responsibility for the efficient conduct of after-care in the community would be essentially a local one resting with probation and after-care committees. In this chapter we shall consider the functions falling to the central organisation and how these functions might best be provided for. We shall discuss this purpose in terms of the after-care of persons released from prisons, borstals and detention centres. The after-care of persons released from approved schools presents different problems, which are discussed in Chapter 10.

154. A convenient method of approaching this question is to examine first the functions now performed centrally by the Central After-Care Association in respect of compulsory after-care. We have shown in paragraphs 29-42 that the method of operation of the three Divisions of the Association is not uniform. It is, however, possible to distinguish the following functions with which, in different ways, the three Divisions are concerned:—

- (a) the provision of general advice and guidance to those participating in compulsory after-care procedures in penal institutions and in the community ;
- (b) the review of the conditions of supervision orders and licences, and their revocation in appropriate cases ;
- (c) the use of recall powers ;
- (d) the planning, and in some cases the direct provision, of after-care for special classes of offender. These may include homeless offenders, where the area in which the individual will settle on release is not known ; and others with special needs which cannot readily be met from the resources available at the local level, such as the physically and mentally handicapped, some persons whose homes are not in Great Britain, boys entering Her Majesty's forces, and persons requiring special opportunities for the development of particular abilities or creative talents.

In addition to the functions exercised by the Divisions, all of which contain an element of individual casework, the Association exercises control over the expenditure of public funds needed for its work (including certain expenditure by probation officers in individual cases), and consults, as may be necessary, with the headquarters of Government Departments and other national organisations on general matters relating to the after-care of discharged persons. We have no doubt that many of these functions must continue to be exercised centrally. The provision of general advice and guidance, the revocation of licences, and the use of recall powers are obvious examples.

155. There are other functions relating to both voluntary and compulsory after-care as we envisage them which will need to be carried out centrally. These include:—

- (a) the appointment of social workers in penal institutions;
- (b) the provision of training, advice and guidance for professional workers in the field;
- (c) the enlistment of the goodwill of the community by encouraging nationally the local recruitment of after-care auxiliaries;
- (d) the promotion of schemes for the development of hostels, clubs, and other new projects to meet special needs;
- (e) the allocation of grants to selected voluntary organisations;
- (f) the control of "befriending" expenditure by probation and after-care officers;
- (g) the maintenance of central records.

Extent of concern in individual casework

156. We have considered the difficult question how far the central organisation should concern itself with individual casework. In general, we do not think it desirable for a central organisation to be concerned in detail with the after-care arrangements for individual offenders, as the Central After-Care Association is at present for persons discharged to compulsory supervision. Our proposals in Chapter 4 are designed to secure the integration of after-care planning with the work of the penal institutions themselves. Such planning must necessarily be carried out in consultation with those responsible for after-care in the community, with whom it will accordingly be of first importance for the staffs of penal institutions to enjoy the closest possible direct working relationships. We have no doubt also that a direct sharing of the preparatory work of after-care between the personnel of the two services will be essential to the realisation of our concept of after-care as a continuous process from the penal institution to the community. Such continuity requires an intimate working together of those engaged in the rehabilitative process in the two spheres, and the encouragement of the fullest possible understanding by each of the approach and methods of the other. We see no reason to suppose that, in the general run of cases, any useful purpose would be served by the intervention of a central organisation in the after-care plans proposed by those immediately concerned in the penal institutions and in the community, who between them will have an intimate knowledge of the individual offender's particular problems and needs, and of the circumstances in the locality to which he is going on discharge.

157. We recognise, however, that there are certain types of case for which after-care arrangements may need to be planned centrally—for example, where an offender has no home to go to and no clear idea where he wishes to settle, or has some physical or mental defect which makes it unusually difficult for his needs to be met from the resources locally available. Even in such cases we regard the function of the central organisation as being advisory, rather than executive.

158. Thus, with the homeless offender, its task would be to advise the staff of the penal institution in which he is detained of the locality where he might be encouraged to settle on release, taking into account his previous background and the availability of suitable accommodation and employment, which a central organisation may be better able to judge. An outline plan having been settled with the offender, it would then be for the staff of the institution to make the detailed arrangements in co-operation with the appropriate probation and after-care officer.

159. Similarly, in other cases presenting special problems we would expect the central organisation to contribute to the after-care plans, and conduct any correspondence which may need to be centrally handled, but otherwise to leave the after-care arrangements to the responsible social workers in the penal institutions and in the community. We expect that there would be early recognition of the cases likely to present special problems, and timely reference to the central organisation. It may be desirable for the central organisation to require notice of certain prescribed types of cases in which its help is likely to be needed.

160. We consider that the tendency to bring homeless and other discharged persons with unusually difficult problems specially to London, where their rehabilitation can at present be directly supervised by centrally employed officers of the Central After-Care Association, should be resisted. In so far as it is appropriate for such persons to be located in the metropolis, perhaps because it is their natural home or because their needs cannot be met elsewhere, we think that their after-care should be undertaken by the probation and after-care service.

161. We do not under-estimate the communication problems involved in providing for after-care planning to be carried out direct between the staffs of penal institutions and those responsible for after-care in the community. At present offenders detained in a particular institution, other than a local prison, may come from many different and often distant parts of the country. It is hoped, we understand, that as the prison building programme proceeds, it will increasingly become possible for offenders to be detained in institutions nearer their homes. Even so, once the initial contact has been arranged through the principal probation and after-care officer for the local area (see paragraph 113), the essential contact between the staff of an institution and the probation and after-care officer will usually have to be maintained by correspondence or telephone, although where more personal consultations were possible we hope that these would be facilitated.

162. The decentralisation of after-care planning to the penal institutions themselves will depend, in the case of prisons and detention centres, upon the appointment of an adequate number of social workers to assist governors and wardens in the discharge of their additional responsibilities. In the case of borstal institutions, it will depend both on borstal house-masters' receiving a wider training in social work, as recommended in paragraph 94, and on their being given the secretarial facilities needed for their new tasks. We recognise, moreover, that because the arrangements for the after-care of youths discharged from borstal institutions and prisons are so highly centralised at present in the Borstal Division of the Central After-Care Association, their decentralisation may take rather longer to effect than in the case of other classes of offenders.

163. Under our proposals, for the first time the Government would be fully responsible for the development of an effective system of after-care for all discharged offenders. Ministerial responsibility would rest with the Home Secretary, and responsibility for the central function in relation to after-care and probation alike should be entrusted to one section of the Home Office. We recommend that the inspectorate attached to this section of the Home Office should be expanded to provide a common body of expert knowledge on probation and after-care. The advice and support of the inspectors should be available also to social workers in prisons, borstals and detention centres. In reaching these conclusions we have borne in mind the trend which we noted in paragraph 102, and which we welcome, towards a closer integration within the Home Office of the various services concerned with the treatment of offenders.

Appointment of advisory bodies

164. We think that it would be of great advantage if the Home Secretary in the discharge of his responsibilities for the social rehabilitation of offenders had the support and advice of bodies through which the relevant interests could be brought together, so lending stimulus to the work and promoting wider understanding of, and co-operation in dealing with, the problems involved.

Central Council for Probation and After-Care

165. We recommend, first, the establishment of a Central Council for Probation and After-Care, to consist of about twenty members selected and appointed by the Home Secretary from among persons with a wide range of experience in social questions. Since it is important that this experience should not be outdated, we think that the Council should include a proportion of younger persons. The Council would be required by its terms of reference to keep under review and advise the Home Secretary on questions of policy arising from the social problems of persons who are placed by the courts under the supervision of probation officers, and of persons, both during their sentences and after release, who are committed to correctional establishments; and from the social problems of the families of such persons. The Council would also advise on the organisation and operation of probation, institutional social work, community after-care and related services affecting the social resettlement of offenders; on the recruitment, training and organisation of after-care auxiliaries; and on research projects in the field of probation and after-care. The Council should not be precluded from considering general questions of policy related to the recruitment and training of persons professionally engaged in the probation and after-care service and institutional social work services, but detailed consideration of these questions would be a matter for the Probation and After-Care Training Board whose appointment we recommend in paragraph 167. Finally, it would be an important function of the Council to assist in promoting the greater public understanding of, and readiness to help in solving, the resettlement problems of persons discharged from penal institutions.

166. We have proposed a Central Council which is not intended to be representative of particular interests. We envisage, however, that, in order to deal with the considerable volume of work falling to it, the Council should be free to set up sub-committees to undertake the detailed consideration of particular questions, and that in so doing it should have power to co-opt persons with relevant experience. Our primary concern is with after-care. In relation to that the Central Council might co-opt to appropriate sub-committees persons chosen from (i) national and other organisations directly concerned with after-care, (ii) independent organisations with responsibilities in the field of community care, e.g. religious bodies, employers' organisations, trade unions and university social science departments, and (iii) officials concerned with the administration of prisons, borstals, detention centres, approved schools and the probation and after-care service.

Probation and After-Care Training Board

167. Secondly, we recommend the appointment by the Home Secretary of a Probation and After-Care Training Board, which would assume the advisory functions on training, suitably expanded to deal with after-care, of the present Probation Advisory and Training Board, whose other advisory functions would then be taken over by the Central Council. The Board would undertake the detailed consideration of questions relating to the recruitment, training and standards of work of persons professionally engaged in the probation and after-care and institutional social work services, and would select persons for training. The Board would promote but not itself undertake such training. We have recommended in paragraph 94 that it should be an early concern of the Board to advise on a suitable scheme for providing borstal housemasters with wider training in social work. The training of borstal housemasters was organised by the Prison Commission. It has been the practice to appoint a representative of the Prison Commission to the Probation Advisory and Training Board, and a similar appointment to the new Board of a representative of the Prison Department of the Home Office would no doubt be desirable to secure the necessary liaison.

168. The recommendation of the Morison Committee* that the value of the present Probation Advisory and Training Board as a stimulus to the central authority and a source of independent advice would be enhanced if its chairman was independent of the Home Office has been implemented. The same considerations apply to the two advisory bodies that we have proposed, namely, the Central Council for Probation and After-Care and the Probation and After-Care Training Board. To provide for the necessary close liaison between the two bodies we would regard it as desirable, if it were possible, for the same person to be chairman of both; and we think that it would be helpful also if some overlap of membership could be arranged.

Public relations

169. We consider it of prime importance that the fullest possible information should be made available to the public about the work of the probation and after-care service. We are glad to learn, therefore, that the Home Secretary has accepted the recommendation of the Morison Committee†

* Report, paragraph 181.

† Report, paragraph 180.

that the Department should publish periodically a report on the work of the probation service and on the activities of the Home Office in this field. We note that among other publications designed to foster a greater understanding of the work that is being done in the treatment of delinquency are the annual reports of the Commissioners of Prisons, and the reports of the Home Office on the work of the Children's Department which are to be published every three years. Both these reports customarily include sections on after-care. We note also that probation committees customarily receive annual reports on the work of the probation service in their respective areas, and that these reports are circulated to magistrates and other interested persons, and sometimes to the press. Nevertheless, we think that something more will be needed to ensure that members of the public, whose interest and support we desire to encourage, are kept informed of developments in the field of after-care as they occur. This will be particularly important in the early stages of an expanded probation and after-care service, and we therefore recommend that the Home Office should take all possible steps to enlist the support of the press and other agencies, including professional and voluntary organisations, in making such developments known.

CHAPTER 9

TRANSITIONAL, FINANCIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS ARRANGEMENTS

Phasing the reorganisation

170. We recognise that the fulfilment of our proposals for the future organisation of after-care will necessarily extend over a period of years. The Morison Committee remarked that a very considerable expansion of the probation service would be needed before full effect could be given to the provisions in the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, enabling compulsory after-care to be extended to certain additional categories of offenders.* The number of probation officers would need to be greater still if those of the remaining 45,000 or so persons discharged each year who wished to receive voluntary after-care were also to become the responsibility of the probation and after-care service, as we recommend.

171. We have concluded (see paragraph 108) that it is not possible to estimate the number of persons likely to seek voluntary after-care, or to assess the extent of their demands upon probation officers. We have little doubt that it would be found convenient to proceed by way of schemes in those areas where the probation and after-care committees are able to recruit the essential professional staff and after-care auxiliaries. On the basis of the experience thus gained, the arrangements could be extended to other areas as quickly as staff became available.

172. With these considerations in mind we make the following recommendations:

- (1) The Central Council for Probation and After-Care (see paragraph 165) should be set up at the earliest possible date to assist the Home Secretary in planning the steps necessary to bring into operation the after-care arrangements we propose.

* Report, paragraph 103.

- (2) At the same time a reconstituted Probation and After-Care Training Board (see paragraph 167) should be appointed to assist in the development of an ambitious recruiting drive and an expanded programme of training to meet the new responsibilities of the probation and after-care service.
- (3) Legislation will be needed to provide for the composition of probation committees and case committees to be broadened as we have proposed (see paragraphs 145-148), and to enable the Home Secretary to apply his powers area by area with a view to completing the reconstitution of the committees (say) within two years.
- (4) When a particular probation and after-care area is approaching the stage of being ready to undertake the after-care of persons discharged to its area from penal institutions, including persons who have hitherto been the responsibility of prisoners' aid societies, the Home Secretary should initiate action to secure the establishment of an Area Auxiliary After-Care Committee (see paragraphs 151-152).

Central After-Care Association

173. During the transitional period, arrangements will need to be made for transfer to the Home Office of such functions of the Central After-Care Association as are still to be carried out centrally (including the use of the power of recalling to prison or borstal persons who are in breach of the requirements of their licence or supervision order). We hope that use would continue to be made of the experience of the present officers of the Association. Decentralisation of the pre-release after-care planning functions of the Association, in accordance with our recommendations in paragraphs 156-162, will become effective as the necessary trained staff becomes available at the particular penal institutions concerned, and as borstal housemasters are equipped to take over this work. Likewise, it is implicit in our recommendation for the transfer to the probation and after-care service of the Association's present responsibility for the supervision and care of certain offenders on release that sufficient probation and after-care officers should be available to undertake the extra work involved. The functions now exercised centrally by the Central After-Care Association would thus be devolved as the other services were built up.

After-care organisation in London

174. We appreciate that the recommendations of the Morison Committee on the administration of the London Probation Service, those of the Interdepartmental Committee on Magistrates' Courts in London on the future administration of those courts,* and the Government Bill to re-organise local government in Greater London, all have implications for the organisation of after-care in London. We are anxious that our proposals for the local organisation of after-care should be applied to the London area as to other parts of the country. As stated in paragraph 151, we regard London as pre-eminently an area where a number of local

* Cmnd. 1606, January, 1962.

auxiliary after-care committees would be needed. London is the home of many discharged persons and many others are drawn to it by hopes of employment and anonymity. Because of this concentration we are particularly concerned that the organisation of after-care in London should be given high priority.

Finance

Probation and after-care service

175. Probation expenditure is shared equally between local authorities and the Exchequer. We have considered whether the Exchequer should pay a higher proportion of the cost of an expanded probation and after-care service in consideration of the increased after-care expenditure that would be entailed if our recommendations were put into effect. As, however, a person receiving after-care and a probationer are alike members of a local community, it seems to us to be equitable that that community should be prepared to extend equally to both the measure of help needed towards rehabilitation. We see no reason, therefore, to recommend in connection with an expanded probation and after-care service any change in the present distribution of financial responsibility.

176. In normal circumstances we should expect the National Assistance Board to grant any financial assistance which a discharged person might require to meet special needs, including tools or working clothes for the particular employment in which he is placed. Nevertheless, we consider that probation and after-care committees should be able to give financial aid of this kind in exceptional cases where it is not otherwise available, and we recommend that expenditure so incurred should be met wholly from Exchequer funds. In order to prevent duplication, we recommend that the local probation and after-care service should have a clear understanding with the area office of the National Assistance Board as to the provision of this kind of help to individual discharged persons.

Voluntary organisations

177. We recommend that a system of selective Exchequer grants should be introduced towards the approved expenditure incurred by voluntary organisations engaged in work making a special contribution to after-care, such as the provision and running of hostels meeting the needs of discharged persons who are homeless and of others, among them the alcoholic and the emotionally or mentally disturbed, who require specialised care and a place from which they can go out to work and possibly also for remedial treatment. It might also be right that grants should be made available to voluntary organisations undertaking work not intended solely to serve the needs of ex-offenders, but which does so in part.

178. We consider that it should be a responsibility of the Central Council for Probation and After-Care to advise on the general terms on which grants are to be made, and that the appropriate probation and after-care committees should be consulted on individual local projects.

Prisoners' aid societies

179. We envisage that the existing Exchequer grants to a prisoners' aid society would cease as soon as the responsibility for the voluntary after-care of persons discharged to its area had been taken over by the probation

and after-care service. Thus relieved of their existing comprehensive burdens, the members of these societies would be enabled to concentrate their enthusiasm and experience on specialised problems from among the many facing discharged persons and their families. We hope that those now associated with the societies will accept the challenge and opportunity of developing, with the resources at their disposal, new after-care projects, some of which may qualify for Exchequer grant under the revised system which we recommend in paragraph 177.

180. We consider that it should be implicit in the arrangements for the transfer of an aid society's after-care functions that any after-care officer of the society should have an opportunity at that stage of being considered for appointment to a post in the probation and after-care service, if necessary after the appropriate training. We recommend that consideration should be given to the possibility of granting compensation where appropriate to those officers who are displaced.

The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies

181. If our recommendations are accepted, the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies would be relieved at an early date of its responsibilities for the appointment of social workers in prisons (see paragraph 82) and subsequently of its casework functions in the London area. As the local aid societies shed their existing responsibilities, the National Association's existing liaison functions would also dissolve. If the new aims of voluntary effort in the field of after-care are to be developed to best advantage throughout the country, there may well be need for a new national voluntary organisation to co-operate with the probation and after-care service and to co-ordinate and encourage such effort and stimulate public interest. It may be that the National Association would have a part to play in any such organisation. We make no specific recommendations in this regard, however, since it will be for the National Association itself to determine its future in the light of the new arrangements. Any officers of the Association who may be displaced as a result of the changes in the Association's functions should have an opportunity at that stage of being considered for appointment to posts in the probation and after-care service or in the section of the Home Office concerned with the central organisation of after-care.

Provision of clothing on release

182. Persons released to the care of the Central After-Care Association are, where necessary, provided with clothing on discharge by the authorities of the penal institutions themselves. On the other hand items required to make good any deficiencies in the clothing of persons released to voluntary after-care from shorter sentences of imprisonment are at present normally provided by the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies or the local aid societies.

183. Under our plan for the future organisation of after-care, the aid societies would no longer have a commitment to provide clothing for prisoners on their discharge. We should then consider it appropriate, since the matter is one to which attention must be given before an offender is released, that the responsibility for providing clothing should in all cases rest with the authorities of the penal institutions.

Cash on discharge

184. A prisoner who makes it known to the social worker in the prison that he is likely on discharge to need financial help is given a special form of introduction to the office of the National Assistance Board serving the area in which he lives or intends to live, where he has the same entitlement to help as any other person in need. The form of introduction is intended to serve a double purpose; to save the ex-prisoner from having to give embarrassing explanations about where he has been and why he is in need, and to ensure that the help required is provided as quickly and with as little difficulty as possible. After the Board's officer has assessed the man's needs, the amount payable (if any) is shown on the form which the man, if he is capable of work, then takes to the employment exchange, where any payment authorised is normally made. The assistance grant is made payable at the employment exchange so that the ex-prisoner is registered for work as part of the process of getting his money.

185. Most offenders leave prison with little more than their fare home and a small sum for subsistence on the journey. We have received evidence that for many it is a considerable source of grievance that on the day of their discharge they must go first to the National Assistance office and then to the employment exchange, perhaps spending some time at each, before they are provided with sufficient funds to enable them to undertake such other urgent tasks as reporting to their after-care officer, seeing prospective employers and, if homeless, finding lodgings for the night.

186. We think it undesirable that a man should leave the prison gates to face the challenge of a new life in freedom, and all the problems of resettlement, with nothing but the few shillings calculated to provide for his bare subsistence on the journey home. We recommend, therefore, that national assistance, where it is due, should be paid to the offender before he is discharged, so that when he leaves prison he has sufficient money to meet immediate contingencies. We understand that there is an existing procedure whereby assistance can be paid at the prison in those cases where a man may be unable to reach the National Assistance office in his home area before it closes on his day of release. In such cases an application form is completed by the social worker in the prison, on behalf of the Board, about a fortnight before the man's discharge. It is then sent by the social worker to the Board's area office covering the man's home address or, if he has none, to the area office nearest the prison. When the need has been assessed by the area office, a postal draft is sent to the prison so that the man may be paid in cash before discharge. Where there is insufficient time for this procedure, authority is given by telephone for payment to be made by the social worker in the prison on the Board's behalf. We were told that there has been no serious abuse of this procedure and we were glad to learn that the Board would be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to the possibility of making not dissimilar arrangements for all prisoners. The Board have told us that additional duties of this kind could not be undertaken without additional staff.

Stamping of National Insurance cards

187. An insured person is excepted from liability to pay National Insurance contributions during a period of detention in legal custody. It is, however,

open to him, or to relatives or friends on his behalf, to keep his card stamped by maintaining contributions as a non-employed person, or as a self-employed person if he was so employed before his sentence. He may also pay contributions in arrears on discharge. In most cases it is not possible for an inmate to maintain his contributions in this way, and we have been told that the presentation of an unstamped insurance card at his place of employment by an ex-prisoner may lay him open to an embarrassing question. The lack of a fully stamped card is not in fact peculiar to ex-offenders and does not identify them as such. There are different classes of persons who have unstamped cards when they go to employers for a job, including those who have just left the Forces or have returned from overseas, or have left hospital after a long spell of sickness, and persons in the self-employed or non-employed classes who have been exempted from liability to contribute by reason of low income. Nevertheless the unstamped card appears to be a source of real difficulty to the ex-offender. We look forward to the time when prison industries can be so improved that increased earnings can be paid to prisoners and so enable them, among other things, to maintain their insurance contributions.

188. We should have expected to find that the official notification which employers require for income tax purposes of wages paid and tax deducted was a similar, though perhaps less obvious, source of embarrassment to a discharged person. We must record, however, that we received no evidence that this was so.

Records

189. At present a recidivist may pass through so many different hands during the course of his criminal career—the probation service, various correctional establishments, local aid societies, the Central After-Care Association—that there is evident difficulty in maintaining a continuous and comprehensive record of his training, treatment and after-care. Each service has its own system for recording information about an offender. While it is prepared to supply information in its possession for the confidential use of such other service as may request it on becoming responsible for the offender, there is no standard form of report for this purpose and in practice considerable variations occur in the adequacy of the case histories provided. When an offender is received at, say, a local prison, it is often only by questioning the offender himself, or making deductions from his record of previous convictions, that the prison authorities can determine which particular services have had earlier dealings with him and so may be able to provide information about his previous response to treatment. We think that the plan which we have proposed for the future organisation of after-care should facilitate the introduction of a common recording system, and of a comprehensive and continuous case history which would be linked with the offender wherever he was under sentence or receiving after-care. To supplement this, we recommend that there should be provided centrally an index which, when information is sought about a particular individual, would at least indicate the location of the records in his case.

PART THREE

CHAPTER 10

APPROVED SCHOOL AFTER-CARE

General

190. Approved schools are boarding establishments approved by the Home Secretary under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933. The courts commit to the schools boys and girls under the age of seventeen, whether guilty of offences or found to be in need of care or protection, or beyond control, whom the courts consider to need a fairly long period of residential training. At 31st December, 1962, there were 118 schools (84 for boys and 34 for girls). Twenty-seven of these schools are administered by local authorities, while the remaining 91 are managed by religious or voluntary organisations, or by committees of interested local people. There are 14 schools for Roman Catholic boys and 6 for girls; a few non-Roman Catholic schools for boys admit small numbers of Roman Catholic boys.

191. A child* under the age of twelve years and four months on committal may be kept in an approved school until he is fifteen and four months; a child over twelve years and four months but under sixteen years on committal may be kept for three years; and a child over sixteen years on committal may be kept until he attains the age of nineteen. Usually, however, a child is released under supervision well before the expiry of the period of detention. Under the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, a child released from an approved school since 1st October, 1961, is subject to compulsory supervision for a period of two years from his first release or until the age of twenty-one, whichever is the earlier. The managers may recall a child at any time before the two years' compulsory supervision expires and detain him until the expiry of the period of detention or for six months from the date when he returns to the school, whichever is the later. At the child's request, the managers may also arrange voluntary after-care for a further period after compulsory supervision is ended until the completion of three years from the end of the period of detention or until the age of twenty-one, whichever is the earlier.

192. Approved school managers are required to ensure adequate arrangements for the after-care of every child released from their school, and to appoint for each child a suitable after-care agent in the area in which he is likely to live on release. They normally exercise their responsibility through the agency of an approved school welfare officer, the probation service, or the local authority child care service. Exceptionally, after-care may be entrusted to some other suitable person in the home locality or to a member

* A child is a person under the age of 14, and a person aged 14 or over but under 17 is a young person (Children and Young Persons Act, 1933: section 107). For convenience, children and young persons and persons over 17 detained in approved schools or under supervision from these schools are referred to as children in this chapter unless the context otherwise requires.

of the school staff. In 1962, approved school welfare officers undertook the after-care of 52 per cent. of boys placed out from approved schools, the probation service undertook the after-care of 29 per cent. of boys and 65 per cent. of girls, and the local authority child care service 15 per cent. of boys and 22 per cent. of girls. In all, 3,849 boys and 827 girls were released from approved schools in 1962.

193. The approved school welfare service originated in 1942. Before the second world war approved school after-care was carried out mainly by visits from members of the school staff or by arrangements with "local friends", who might be probation officers or other social workers, or any agency selected by the managers. These arrangements proved inadequate under wartime conditions, and, as an emergency, special welfare officers were appointed under the direct control of the schools. For this purpose the more thickly populated parts of England and Wales were divided into areas for each of which the managers of a suitably situated school were authorised to appoint a welfare officer. Each welfare officer was available to assist in the after-care of boys in his area, no matter from which approved schools they were released, except that there were separate welfare officers for Roman Catholic boys. These arrangements were not adopted everywhere, since some local authorities decided to retain responsibility for the after-care of boys from their own schools. Nor was it practicable to appoint welfare officers for areas in which there were few boys from approved schools: and the system was not extended to girls, owing to their comparatively small number in any one area.

194. At the end of 1962, there were 49 approved school welfare officers, each of whom was responsible for the after-care of boys from a number of different schools. Analysis of the work of twenty-seven officers over a period in 1961 shows that on average each officer was dealing with boys from twenty-five schools. These figures reflect two trends: the current pressure on approved school accommodation, which sometimes makes it necessary to send a boy to a school far from his home, and the relatively greater degree of specialisation in the schools now than formerly, which in some cases also results in a boy being sent to a school at a distance from his home. The case-loads of the twenty-seven officers varied considerably but averaged about eighty boys released from the schools and under supervision, and a similar number of boys assigned to the welfare officer as after-care agent but still resident in the school.

Report of the Departmental Committee on Children and Young Persons, 1960

195. The question of after-care of persons released from approved schools was one of the matters which engaged the attention of the Departmental Committee on Children and Young Persons which sat under the chairmanship of Lord Ingleby and reported in 1960.* The Committee recommended among other things that the responsibility for after-care should remain vested in the approved school managers;† that provided the necessary trained staff are available the principal agents for carrying out after-care supervision should be the probation service and the local children's

* Cmd. 1191. We refer to this Committee hereafter as the Ingleby Committee.

† Report, paragraph 487.

authorities ;* that it should be made a statutory responsibility of local authorities, as it already is of probation officers, to act as after-care agents if requested to do so ;† that the approved-school welfare service should be allowed to run down gradually ;‡ and that a central advisory committee should be set up, charged to keep the whole question of approved school after-care under review.§ We ourselves have received evidence on these and related matters from the interested parties. The conclusions we have reached after careful consideration of the various views expressed to us are set out in the following paragraphs.

Allocation of responsibility

196. The concept that the managers of an approved school remain responsible for the resettlement of a child after he leaves the school (and for recalling him to the school should this become necessary) is traditional in the approved school system. It is closely linked with the fact that the managers have parental rights in respect of each child in their charge, and with the doctrine that those who have prepared boys and girls during their training to take their place in the community should have a continuing responsibility to help them in the process of readjustment to life in the world outside the school. We agree with the recommendation of the Ingleby Committee that responsibility for after-care should remain vested in the approved school managers.

After-care agencies

197. The Ingleby Committee's recommendation that the approved school welfare service should be run down and its work absorbed by the probation and child care services was strongly opposed in evidence before us by the managers, heads and staffs of approved schools.

198. Though members of the welfare officer service lack for the most part professional training, many of them have acquired considerable experience. We were told that approved school managers prefer to use these officers where they are available, rather than members of other services who are not solely concerned with approved school after-care and over whom the managers have no control. Clearly, however, if the welfare officer service were to be continued it would need to be expanded in order to reduce the present heavy case-loads and secure better geographical coverage. But even an expanded service would remain small. It is unlikely that it could provide within itself adequate scope for promotion, and we do not think that persons with satisfactory qualifications could be attracted and retained in competition with other services. Our objections to an *ad hoc* corps of caseworkers specialising in the after-care of persons discharged from penal institutions (see paragraphs 101-102) are equally valid here. There is also a problem of supervision. As we have already pointed out, a welfare officer, although attached to one school, deals also with cases from a number of schools, some perhaps at a considerable distance, to which boys from his area may be sent. In these circumstances effective

* Report, paragraph 488.

† Report, paragraph 488.

‡ Report, paragraph 489.

§ Report, paragraph 495.

supervision of the work of the welfare officer, either by the managers of the school to which he is attached or by the managers of other schools, presents obvious difficulties.

199. There have been considerable developments in social work practice since the welfare officer service was first introduced. Moreover, the intervening years have seen a rapid growth in the probation service and the local child care service, each of which provides a nationwide network of social workers. The probation service is already concerned with large numbers of young people who are on probation or under supervision, as well as with the after-care of young offenders who have received institutional training in prisons or borstal institutions, and the service will eventually be concerned with those released from detention centres. The child care service is concerned with the social care of children and young persons, including delinquents who are the subject of fit person orders and, in pursuance of the new duty to undertake preventive work laid upon local authorities by clause 1 of the Children and Young Persons Bill* now before Parliament, will be increasingly concerned in casework with families. Either the probation service or the child care service may already be working with the family to which an approved school child will return. Both services are familiar with the problems involved in the after-care of children and young persons. In our view there is a strong case for assigning approved school after-care to these established services. We accordingly think, as did the Ingleby Committee, that the principal agents for carrying out approved school after-care supervision should be the probation service and the local child care authorities. If our recommendations are accepted, there will be an expanded probation and after-care service available in due course to take on some of the work now undertaken by welfare officers. Local authorities, too, will be in a better position than at present to take on a share of this work if, as was recommended by the Ingleby Committee and as is proposed in the Children and Young Persons Bill, they are given a statutory duty to undertake approved school after-care on the managers' request.

200. The special experience of the approved school welfare officers should continue to be used so far as practicable. We think there should be ample opportunity for welfare officers to be considered for appointment to posts in the probation and after-care service and the child care service. We recommend especially the value of welfare officers to the local authority child care service in which there is a shortage of male officers. The specialisation on after-care work in the larger urban areas which we envisage in paragraphs 110-112 may facilitate the absorption of other officers into the probation and after-care service.

201. We should deprecate too long a transitional period and we recommend that a date should be set by which the approved school welfare service would be wound up. Requisite training should be provided to fit suitable approved school welfare officers for appointment to posts in the probation and after-care service and the child care service. We further recommend that the Home Office should consider the possibility of granting compensation where appropriate to those officers who are displaced.

* Now the Children and Young Persons Act, 1963.

202. Nine of the present welfare officers serve schools for Roman Catholic boys. Representatives of the managers of these schools urged the importance of securing that the after-care agent should be of the same religious persuasion as the families and children with whom he was dealing. We appreciate the concern of the Roman Catholic schools at the prospect of losing their welfare officers, but we consider that in general the appropriate course for these schools to follow would be to use either the probation and after-care service or the local child care service. We were told that members of these services are encouraged to enlist where appropriate the help of clergy and organisations connected with the churches to which their charges belong.

203. While the probation and after-care service and the local child care authorities should be the normal agents for carrying out after-care supervision, we consider that managers of approved schools should retain a discretion to appoint other persons where, exceptionally, the circumstances of a particular child suggest that such an arrangement is likely to meet his or her needs better than the appointment of a member of one of the established after-care services.

Social work in approved schools

Boys

204. Approved schools were for many years organised in such a way that members of staff dealt with groups, often large groups, of children rather than with individual children. The organisation of the schools on this basis determined the kind of training and qualifications expected of the staff. In practice, however, though they may have lacked specialist training for the work, a certain amount of individual casework has always been undertaken by approved school staff in order to meet the evident needs of individual children while in the schools.

205. The introduction of housemasters and, more recently, the development of physically separate house units accommodating up to 30 boys reflect an increasing emphasis on social training and individual casework. At the same time there has developed, partly as a result of the work of the classifying schools, an increased awareness of the importance of more study of the individual needs of children committed to the schools and a growing realisation that the defective home relationships of many children in approved schools calls for more work on the homes and on the parent/child relationship. The principal responsibility for the social training of the child and for making contact with his parents rests with the housemaster. He should normally be the link between the child in the school and the after-care agent.

206. In 1960 the Ingleby Committee stressed the "serious shortage of adequately qualified housemasters, who occupy a key position in the boys' schools", and it repeated advice given by another official committee as long ago as 1946 that housemasters should be specially trained before appointment. The Ingleby Committee urged that special attention should be paid to ways of remedying these deficiencies.* Following this expression of concern, steps have been taken by Home Office in association with the Central Training Council in Child Care to extend the training of approved

* Report, paragraph 506.

school staffs. It is important that the training of housemasters and housemistresses should provide them with a proper grounding in the social casework and after-care aspects of their functions.

207. In order to provide for closer attention to the individual needs of the children, some schools have appointed specialist social caseworkers. At the end of 1962 there were posts for 13 social workers at boys' schools, including 6 at classifying schools. It is the function of the social worker to undertake intensive casework with selected boys, and to act as liaison with their families and with social agencies in the home area, without however usurping the functions of either the housemasters or the local after-care agents. We welcome this development. While the value of its application to different types of schools will need to be determined in the light of experience, we believe that there is particular scope for the services of specialist social workers of maturity and experience in classifying schools, schools dealing with boys whose circumstances create a need for more intensive casework, and any schools with wide catchment areas and consequently special problems of contact with the home.

Girls

208. The greater proportion of the girls received into approved schools have been committed by the courts as being in need of care or protection or beyond control. In the case of many adolescent girls, whether committed as offenders or non-offenders, there is a history of sexual promiscuity. The problems of approved school girls, like those of girls committed to borstal institutions (see paragraph 95), are particularly likely to require that close attention should be given, in co-operation with the appropriate agencies in the community, to the home circumstances and family relationships. What we have said in paragraphs 204-207 in relation to boys' schools applies also to girls' schools. In addition, we received evidence that girls' schools are so small in number and so scattered that there is special difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory link with the locality to which a girl will return on release. In view of this factor and the nature of the needs and problems of approved school girls, we consider that the need for specialist social workers in girls' schools is relatively greater than the need in boys' schools generally. At the end of 1962 there were 9 such appointments.

209. Since in girls' and boys' schools alike the specialist social workers are required for skilled and intensive casework, they should be recruited from persons who are both educationally well qualified and professionally trained in social work.

Relations between schools and after-care agencies

210. The Ingleby Committee stressed the need for the after-care agent to be appointed as soon as possible after the child's admission to the school. This would enable the after-care agent, by acquiring knowledge of the child and his home at an early date, to foster good relationships between the home, the child and the school and to lay the foundation of the after-care work to be done on the child's release from school.* We endorse that

* Report, paragraph 491.

Committee's recommendations and we attach importance, as they did, to the maintenance of close links between the schools and the after-care agencies. Such links are an essential aid to the proper understanding by each of the problems of the other. Thus we have suggested in paragraph 149 that it would be of value if senior members of staff of correctional establishments were invited to attend, in a consultative capacity, meetings of the probation and after-care committee for their area when matters affecting after-care were to be discussed. We hope that such invitations will be extended to approved schools, and that by similar means more effective co-operation will be developed between the schools and the local authority child care service.

211. We have considered, in the light of representations made to us in evidence, the routine reports which after-care agents are required to make on individual boys and girls placed out from the schools. While we recognise the importance which managers attach to their responsibilities for after-care and the continuing interest which they take in the progress of children after their release, we think that where after-care is undertaken by a professional after-care service reports at less frequent intervals than hitherto should be sufficient. We recommend that the Home Office should review the guidance on this subject given in their after-care memorandum of 1955. In so doing, we consider it important that a distinction should be drawn between routine reports and emergency reports in a crisis. Reports should be those of the particular probation and after-care officer or child care officer, as the case may be, whatever the channels of communication adopted for administrative purposes.

Central organisation

212. If our recommendations in Chapter 8 for the appointment of advisory bodies are accepted, we consider that it should not be necessary to establish, as was recommended by the Ingleby Committee, a central advisory committee, charged to keep the whole question of after-care for approved school children under review. The functions proposed for the central advisory committee could be shared between the Central Council for Probation and After-Care, whose establishment we recommend in paragraph 165, and three existing bodies concerned with approved school matters, namely, the Advisory Council on Child Care, the Central Training Council in Child Care and the Approved Schools Central Advisory Committee, subject to suitable liaison arrangements. It is the responsibility of the Advisory Council on Child Care to advise the Home Secretary, among other things, on matters connected with the care of children who are deprived of a normal home life, and are in the care of a local authority. The Central Training Council in Child Care promotes training in child care (including training for work in approved schools). This Council has in the main the same membership as the Advisory Council on Child Care. The Approved Schools Central Advisory Committee has no specific terms of reference but has evolved as a body that discusses questions of general policy concerning the administration of approved schools and the training and welfare of approved school children. Among them, these bodies seem well able to consider the problems that arise and to make appropriate recommendations.

Provision for homeless ex-approved school children

213. Under section 6 (4) of the Children Act, 1948, a child who, when he leaves an approved school, has no home or an unsatisfactory home, may be received into the care of a local authority on the special terms that the subsection provides ; but relatively little use has been made of this provision. We consider that it could with advantage be used more often in relation to homeless boys and girls and those temporarily without a suitable home. Several of our witnesses drew attention to the need, in areas where there are special difficulties in securing a sufficient number of approved lodgings for homeless ex-approved school children, for more post-release hostels for children in this age group. Local authorities (who have powers under section 19 of the Children Act, 1948) and voluntary organisations should be encouraged to provide such hostels wherever necessary. Voluntary organisations providing hostels wholly or partly for ex-approved school children should be eligible for Exchequer grant under the system which we recommend in paragraph 177.

214. We note that the managers of an approved school have powers under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, to assist financially a child who has a good home but who is required to live away from it because his employment is elsewhere.

CHAPTER 11

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PERSONS DISCHARGED FROM PRISONS, BORSTALS AND DETENTION CENTRES

215. After examining in Part One of our Report the existing systems of compulsory and voluntary after-care, we have concluded that major changes are necessary on the following lines:—

- (1) the amalgamation of compulsory and voluntary after-care into a common service ;
- (2) employment of professional social workers on after-care, both in penal institutions and in the community ;
- (3) the decentralisation of the arrangements for after-care accompanied by a strengthening of the lines of communication between the social worker in the institution and his colleagues in the community ; and
- (4) a greatly increased understanding of the part to be played by members of the community in the rehabilitation of offenders.

216. With these ends in view we have made specific recommendations designed to create for all offenders committed to correctional establishments a system of after-care which will be the joint responsibility of the staffs of those establishments and of an expanded and reorganised probation and after-care service. Within the penal institutions it should be the conscious aim of the whole staff to promote the individual rehabilitation of each inmate, and for this purpose the staff should, where necessary, include trained social caseworkers, to whom would be entrusted the main responsibility for making preparation for the offender's after-care, in collaboration with the probation and after-care service. Within the community the future organisation should ensure that after-care, whether it is compulsory or voluntary,

should be available according to individual need and that one service—the probation and after-care service—should be responsible for the provision of both forms of after-care. As expanded to deal with after-care, the probation service would extend beyond its hitherto accepted role of a social service of the courts. The officers of the probation and after-care service should enlist the help of voluntary workers drawn not only from those who, as members of existing organisations, have concerned themselves with the rehabilitation of offenders, but from other fields of voluntary social work. Encouragement should also be given to new after-care projects, such as the establishment of hostels for ex-offenders, which may be initiated by voluntary effort. Although the detailed arrangements for after-care should be decentralised to the penal establishments and the new probation and after-care service, responsibility for the general organisation of after-care would fall to the Home Secretary, who should be advised by a Central Council for Probation and After-Care and a Probation and After-Care Training Board. It would be one of the most important functions of this central organisation to inform the public about after-care work in the rehabilitation of discharged offenders and to enlist public support. The functions now exercised centrally by the Central After-Care Association would be devolved as the other services are built up. We hope that those now associated with the prisoners' aid societies, when relieved of their existing comprehensive burdens, would accept the opportunity of developing new after-care projects. The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies would need to determine its future in the light of the new arrangements. If the new aims of voluntary effort in the field of after-care are to be developed to full advantage throughout the country, there might be need for a new national voluntary organisation to co-operate with the probation and after-care service and to co-ordinate and encourage such effort and stimulate public interest. The National Association might have a part to play in this regard.

217. Our specific recommendations are as follows:—

Social Work in Penal Institutions

Prisons

(1) Social workers in prisons should be appointed by the Home Secretary (paragraph 82).

(2) There should be social workers in all prisons, including central prisons. Case-loads should be much smaller than those with which social workers in prisons are at present expected to deal (paragraphs 83–84).

(3) The social worker in the prison should be the normal channel of communication in social casework matters with the various outside agencies (paragraph 89).

(4) Prison officers can play a vital part in the work of rehabilitation and should be prepared for this in their training at the Prison Officers' Training School (paragraphs 86–87).

Borstal institutions

(5) The main social casework functions in borstals should be entrusted to the housemasters and housemistresses; arrangements for their recruitment and training should be revised with these extended duties in mind.

This does not rule out the possible need to appoint, exceptionally, specialist social workers in some borstals, particularly girls' borstals (paragraphs 91-95).

Detention centres

(6) Detention centres are being authorised to appoint full-time social workers. Arrangements for social work in detention centres should, however, be kept flexible. The use of probation officers from the boys' home areas should be considered in appropriate cases (paragraph 96).

After-Care in the Community

(7) The single service which would undertake both compulsory and voluntary after-care in the community should be an expanded and re-organised "probation and after-care service" whose two primary functions should be reflected in this title (paragraphs 103-106).

(8) Wherever it is justified by the volume of work, some members of the probation and after-care service should specialise on after-care work for a period (paragraphs 110-111).

(9) Interchange of personnel between the probation and after-care service and social work in prisons should be encouraged (paragraph 112).

(10) The principal officer should be named "principal probation and after-care officer", and should bear the same responsibility for after-care as for probation (paragraph 113).

(11) In the larger areas, the probation and after-care committee should assign one of their officers to take immediate responsibility, under the principal probation and after-care officer, for the oversight of after-care activities (paragraph 115).

(12) Probation and after-care officers should make periodic reports to the interested institutions on the progress of persons under care in the community (paragraph 117).

Voluntary effort

(13) It will be essential to have the help of many voluntary workers acting as auxiliaries to probation and after-care officers (paragraphs 120-124). After-care auxiliaries should be selected with care and trained for the work (paragraphs 131-133).

(14) Religious bodies and voluntary organisations should be encouraged to participate in the rehabilitation of discharged offenders in other ways besides finding auxiliaries. In particular there is great need for more hostels (paragraph 134).

Offenders' Families

(15) Offenders' families should be included within the ambit of after-care (paragraph 136). The probation and after-care officer would exercise a wise discretion in the initial approach and should maintain close liaison with the social worker at the institution where the offender is detained and with other social agencies in the community (paragraphs 138-139).

(16) The local children's authority should be given at least three months' notice of the impending discharge of an offender sentenced for incest and the notification should be accompanied wherever possible by a psychiatric report (paragraph 142).

(17) Suitable training during sentence for neglectful mothers should be developed, coupled with pre-release training of the family (paragraph 143).

The Local Organisation and Administration of After-Care

Constitution of probation and case committees

(18) Probation and after-care committees in single probation areas and case committees in combined areas should be composed as to one-fourth of their number of non-justices with knowledge or experience of after-care. The justices acting for each petty sessional division should appoint all the members (paragraph 147).

(19) The justices appointed to probation and after-care committees in combined areas should be required to appoint to membership of the committee non-justices, being persons with knowledge or experience of after-care, to a number specified by the Home Secretary in the combining order (paragraph 148).

(20) Senior members of staff of some at least of the correctional establishments in the area might be invited to attend, in a consultative capacity, meetings of the probation and after-care committee when matters affecting after-care were to be discussed (paragraph 149).

Area Auxiliary After-Care Committees

(21) In order to bring together the various local organisations actively concerned with after-care, there should be formed in each probation and after-care area an area auxiliary after-care committee representative of the local community interests. In some large combined areas it might be found desirable to form also local auxiliary after-care committees to supplement in particular districts the work of the area committee (paragraph 151).

The Central Organisation of After-Care

(22) After-care planning should normally be carried out direct between the staffs of penal institutions and those responsible for after-care in the community. For special types of case, after-care arrangements might need to be planned centrally, but the function of the central organisation in these cases should be advisory rather than executive (paragraphs 156-162).

Responsibility of the Home Office

(23) Responsibility for the central functions in relation to after-care and probation alike should be entrusted to one section of the Home Office. The inspectorate attached to this section should be expanded to provide a body of expert knowledge on probation and after-care (paragraph 163).

(24) The advice and support of the inspectors should be available also to social workers in prisons, borstals and detention centres (paragraph 163).

Advisory bodies and public relations

(25) A Central Council for Probation and After-Care should be appointed by the Home Secretary. The Council should be free to set up sub-committees to undertake the detailed consideration of particular questions, and in so doing it should have power to co-opt persons with relevant experience (paragraphs 165-166).

(26) The Home Secretary should appoint a Probation and After-Care Training Board to carry out the advisory functions on training, suitably expanded to deal with after-care, of the present Probation Advisory and Training Board, whose other advisory functions would be taken over by the Central Council (paragraph 167).

(27) The Home Office should enlist the support of the press and other agencies, including professional and voluntary organisations, in publicising developments in the field of after-care (paragraph 169).

Transitional Arrangements

(28) As the proposed re-organisation of after-care will necessarily extend over a period of years, the new arrangements should be introduced as probation and after-care committees are able to recruit the essential professional staff and after-care auxiliaries (paragraphs 170-171).

(29) Because of the concentration of discharged prisoners in London, the organisation of after-care in London should be given priority (paragraph 174).

Finance

(30) Probation and after-care committees should be authorised to give financial aid, for example, towards the purchase of tools or working clothes, in exceptional cases where it is not otherwise available, and expenditure so incurred should be met wholly from Exchequer funds (paragraph 176).

(31) A system of selective Exchequer grants should be introduced towards approved expenditure incurred by voluntary organisations engaged in work making a special contribution to after-care (paragraph 177).

Miscellaneous

Central After-Care Association

(32) In staffing the section of the Home Office concerned with the central organisation of after-care, use should be made of the experience of the present officers of the Central After-Care Association (paragraph 173).

Prisoners' Aid Societies and their National Association

(33) The arrangements for the transfer of an aid society's after-care functions should include the opportunity for any after-care officer of the society to be considered for appointment to a post in the probation and after-care service, if necessary after appropriate training. Consideration should be given to the possibility of granting compensation where appropriate to those officers who are displaced (paragraph 180).

(34) Any officers of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies who may be displaced as a result of changes in the Association's functions should have a similar opportunity of being considered for appointment to posts in the probation and after-care service or in the section of the Home Office concerned with the central organisation of after-care (paragraph 181).

Material aid on discharge

(35) The responsibility for providing clothing for persons on discharge should rest in all cases with the authorities of the penal institutions (paragraph 183).

(36) National Assistance, where it is due, should be paid to a prisoner before he is discharged, so that when he leaves the institution he has sufficient money to meet immediate contingencies (paragraphs 184-186).

Records

(37) A comprehensive and continuous case history, which would be linked with the offender wherever he was under sentence or receiving after-care, should be introduced. This should be supplemented by a central index indicating the location of the records of individual offenders (paragraph 189).

PERSONS RELEASED FROM APPROVED SCHOOLS

After-care agencies

(38) The principal agents for carrying out approved school after-care supervision should be the probation and after-care service and the local child care authorities (paragraph 199).

(39) A date should be set by which the approved school welfare service would finally be wound up. There should be opportunity for approved school welfare officers to be considered for appointment to posts in the probation and after-care service or the child care service, if necessary after appropriate training. The Home Office should consider the possibility of granting compensation where appropriate to those officers who are displaced (paragraphs 200-201).

Social work in approved schools

(40) Having regard to their responsibility for the social training of the child in the school and for making contact with his parents, the house-master or housemistress should normally be the link between the child and the after-care agent. The training of housemasters and housemistresses should recognise the importance of their part in promoting after-care arrangements (paragraphs 205-206).

(41) Consideration should be given to the need to expand the employment of specialist social workers in certain types of school, particularly girls' schools (paragraphs 207-208).

Relations between schools and after-care agencies

(42) Recommendation (20) above applies equally to senior members of approved school staff. More effective co-operation might be developed by similar means between the schools and the local authority child care service (paragraph 210).

(43) The Home Office should review, in their after-care memorandum of 1955, the guidance given on the subject of the routine reports which after-care agents are required to make on individual boys and girls placed out from approved schools (paragraph 211).

Homeless ex-approved school children

(44) Local authorities and managers of approved schools should be encouraged to make more extensive use of the provisions of section 6 (4) of the Children Act, 1948, in relation to boys and girls who, on leaving a school, have no homes or unsatisfactory homes (paragraph 213).

(45) Local authorities and voluntary organisations should be encouraged to provide more post-release hostels wherever necessary (paragraph 213).

218. The issues in the field of training touched on in various parts of our Report call for action on the following lines.

(1) Central Council for Probation and After-Care

(a) General preliminary review of the training issues discussed in this Report (paragraph 165), other than those which concern the Central Training Council in Child Care.

(b) Consideration of the scope and content of training schemes for after-care auxiliaries (paragraphs 132-133).

(2) Probation and After-Care Training Board

(a) Immediate in-service reorientation programmes for probation officers and borstal house staffs, including opportunities for discussion and joint study both for them and for social workers in prisons and approved school staff (paragraph 119).

(b) Short-term *ad hoc* training for selected existing social workers in prisons (paragraph 85).

(c) Permanent training schemes for future probation and after-care officers and social workers in prisons (and possibly social workers in detention centres) considered as a single professional group (paragraph 118).

(d) Revised permanent training schemes for those entering borstals as housemasters or housemistresses (paragraphs 94-95).

(3) Prison Authorities

(a) Review of prison officers' training in human and social relations (paragraph 87).

(4) Central Training Council in Child Care

(a) Social work training of approved school house staffs (paragraph 206).

(b) Retraining of selected existing approved school welfare officers with a view to their absorption into the child care or probation and after-care services (as to the latter, in consultation with the Probation and After-Care Training Board) (paragraph 201).

- (c) Necessary training of child care officers, especially men, for the extended after-care duties that will fall to local authorities when a duty is imposed on the children's service to undertake approved school after-care at the request of school managers (paragraph 199).

B. J. HARTWELL (*Chairman*).

XENIA FIELD.

ALICE C. JOHNSTON*.

FRANCOIS LAFITTE.

A. E. CLUCAS MOORE.

BELINDA NORMAN-BUTLER.

J. ROSS.

BEATRICE SEROTA.

R. J. H. WEST (*Secretary*).

21st May, 1963.

* Subject to note of reservation below.

RESERVATION BY MISS A. C. JOHNSTON

I wish to state that I do not dissent from the recommendations of the sub-committee, because I consider that they represent the best possible solution within our terms of reference. I would, however, have liked to see more far reaching and radical alterations to provide a stronger driving and directing force for the necessary winds of change in after-care.

ALICE C. JOHNSTON.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO SUBMITTED EVIDENCE

- Alcoholics Anonymous.
- *Approved School Welfare Officers' Association.
- *Association of Child Care Officers.
- *Association of Children's Officers.
- *Association of Headmasters, Headmistresses and Matrons of Approved Schools.
- *Association of Managers of Approved Schools.
- Association of Municipal Corporations.
- Association of Prison Welfare Officers.
- Mrs. G. F. M. Bishop.
- Blackfriars Settlement.
- British Council of Churches.
- †Mr. J. Brophy, Detention centre warden.
- *Catholic Prisoners' Aid Society.
- Central After-Care Association.
- †Central Council of Probation Committees.
- Church Army.
- Committee of Norman House.
- *Conference of Principal Probation Officers (jointly with the National Association of Probation Officers).
- †Mr. G. F. Davies, Prison welfare officer.
- *Devon Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.
- †The Rev. C. P. Druitt, Prison chaplain.
- †Mr. E. A. Esquillant, Prison governor.
- *Family Service Units.
- *Mr. F. C. Foster, Director of the Borstal Division of the Central After-Care Association.
- †Mr. A. Gould, Borstal governor.
- †Lt. Cdr. A. Hague, R.D., R.N.R., Director of the Men's Division of the Central After-Care Association†.
- *Hampshire Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.
- Mr. R. H. Hauser.
- *Home Office.
- Howard League for Penal Reform.
- Jewish Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.
- †Mrs. J. E. Kelley, Prison governor.
- Langley House Trust.
- Liverpool Catholic Children's Protection Society.
- London County Council.
- Magistrates' Association.
- Margery Fry Memorial Fund.
- †Dr. J. J. Mason, Prison principal medical officer.
- Methodist Church.
- †Mr. C. M. Miles, Detention centre warden.
- *Ministry of Labour.
- Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance.
- †The Rev. W. F. G. Mitchell, Prison chaplain.
- *Mrs. Pauline Morris.
- *Mr. G. J. Mott, Senior prison welfare officer.
- *National Assistance Board.
- *National Association of Approved School Staffs.
- *National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.
- *National Association of Prison Visitors.
- *National Association of Probation Officers (jointly with the Conference of Principal Probation Officers).

* These witnesses gave oral evidence in support of written memoranda.

† These witnesses gave oral evidence only.

† Lt. Cdr. Hague also gave oral evidence in his dual capacity as Director of the Men's Division of the Central After-Care Association and General Secretary of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.

National Citizens' Advice Bureaux Committee.
National Council of Social Service.

*New Bridge.

†The Rev. I. S. Nicholson, Prison chaplain.

†Mr. W. R. B. Neall, D.S.O., Borstal governor.

*North Staffordshire Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.

†Dr. D. A. Ogden, Prison principal medical officer.

*Pakenham/Thompson Committee.

*Mr. H. A. Prins.

*Prison Commission.

†Prison Officers' Association.

†Mr. J. Richards, Prison governor.

Dr. G. Rose.

*Royal London Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.

*Salvation Army.

†Mr. A. D. W. Sanderson, Borstal governor.

†Mr. G. B. Smith, Prison governor.

†Miss F. M. Stone, Director of the Women's & Girls' Division of the Central After-Care Association.

†Lord Stonham.

*Mr. R. L. Tyrwhitt.

*Universities Settlement in East London.

†Trades Union Congress.

†Dr. J. L. le C. Walker, Prison principal medical officer.

†Mr. J. R. Watson, Detention centre warden.

†Mr. J. A. Waylen, M.B.E., Detention centre warden.

Sir J. Wenham, J.P.

†Miss L. S. White, Borstal governor.

*Mr. P. Willcox, Prison welfare officer.

†Mr. F. C. Winckless, Prison welfare officer.

*Women's Voluntary Service.

APPENDIX B

PRISON AND BORSTAL AFTER-CARE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Prisoners' aid societies

1. After-care in this country originated, as did so many other forms of social service, in voluntary work by individuals who were moved by a spirit of charity to relieve distress among their fellows and to seek their moral reformation. The private philanthropy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, often inspired by strong religious convictions, found expression in this field in the formation of discharged prisoners' aid societies, attached to the local city and county gaols. Without initiation and planning from the centre, these early societies grew up spontaneously and independently.

2. The work of the local aid societies was first given statutory recognition in the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Act, 1862, which empowered visiting justices to grant certificates of approval to aid societies and to pay to each such approved society a sum, not exceeding two pounds in any one case, for the benefit of each discharged prisoner. Though sparing use was made of this power by the justices, the Act marked the beginning of a partnership between the State and private benevolence which remains a feature of the after-care services as they exist today.

3. This partnership continued, though in slightly different form, when the Prison Act, 1877, transferred the control of local prisons from the justices to the Home Secretary, acting through the Prison Commissioners. The State grants

* These witnesses gave oral evidence in support of written memoranda.

† These witnesses gave oral evidence only.

were then paid from central instead of local funds, the Commissioners took over from the justices the duty of overseeing the work, and certificates of approval were given by the Home Secretary instead of by the justices. In 1878 there were 29 societies in operation. Less than ten years later their number had increased to 63, covering almost all the prisons in England and Wales, which at that time had a population of about 16,000.

4. In 1894, the Gladstone Committee on Prisons presented a report which was to lead to a fundamental reappraisal of the concept of deterrence, hitherto realised through disagreeable punishment and the fear of its repetition, as the primary object of penal policy. The Committee found that "prisoners have been treated too much as a hopeless and worthless element of the community, and the moral as well as the legal responsibility of the prison authorities has been held to cease when they pass outside the prison gates". "We think," the Committee said, "that the system should be made more elastic, more capable of being adapted to the special cases of individual prisoners; that prison discipline and treatment should be more effectively designed to maintain, stimulate, or awaken the higher susceptibilities of prisoners, to develop their moral instincts, to train them in orderly and industrial habits, and, wherever possible, to turn them out of prison better men and women physically and morally than when they came in".

5. Hitherto it had been left entirely to voluntary effort to assist the social adjustment of the offender on his release. The Gladstone Report encouraged growing acceptance of the view that the rehabilitation of offenders was as much a responsibility of the penal system itself as of society at large. By degrees, prison treatment and after-care came to be thought of as part of a single process, both designed to fit the offender to take his place as a normal member of the community.

6. The Gladstone Committee also considered the work of the aid societies. They found that, while some did admirable work, "it does not appear that there is either uniformity of action under definite principles, or that the various societies are so far organised as a whole that the effect of aid can be satisfactorily ascertained. There seems to be a great and unnecessary variation in the methods of working". While emphasizing the importance of maintaining the voluntary and local side of aid society work, the Committee thought there should be some central organisation and supervision, and "a representative conference in London for the purpose of securing common and uniform action providing for the most effectual distribution of the Government Grant, and for stimulating the considerable number of societies which do little work or exist but in name".

7. From this point in time the Prison Commissioners made special efforts to encourage the work of the aid societies and, after an inquiry into the methods of aid societies, subsequently made it a requirement of the Home Secretary's certificate of efficiency that the societies should comply with certain regulations designed to secure uniformity of procedure and organisation.

8. A further development occurred in 1918 with the establishment of the Central Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society with offices in London. The various local aid societies were represented on the Central Executive, and the Society also dealt with special cases referred to it by the local societies.

9. In 1932 a Departmental Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Major (later Sir) Isidore Salmon to review the methods of employing prisoners and of assisting them to find employment on discharge. Though not within its terms of reference, the Committee considered also the methods and organisation of the aid societies. There were at this time 48 aid societies but, following a decrease in the local prison population to about 9,500, there were only 26 local prisons. The Committee recommended that there should be one society only for each committal area, i.e. for the whole area from which prisoners were committed to the particular prison to which the society was attached. For co-ordinating the work of the aid societies as a whole, the Salmon Committee further recommended that there should be a National Council formed of representatives

of area aid societies, with which the Central Society would be merged; that the chairman of the Council and of its Executive Committee should be nominated by the Home Secretary, but should not be a Government official; and that in order to keep the Council in touch with the work of the Borstal Association and the Central Association (as to which see below: paragraphs 16 and 18 respectively), the Director of these Associations should be an additional member of the Council and of the Executive Committee.

10. These recommendations were received unfavourably by the aid societies who saw in them an attempt to impose Government control on their work. At a conference of aid societies held in July, 1935, at which these objections were generally expressed, Mr. Frank Whitbread, the chairman of the Central Society, was asked to form a committee "to inquire into the present position from inside our movement, and to report what reforms, if any, are desirable and necessary".

11. In its report, the Whitbread Committee expressed the view that the Central Society should not seek to take upon itself the rôle of "dictator" over individual societies, but that its aim should be—through elected representatives of all societies—to pursue a co-ordinating policy based on the goodwill of all concerned. The Committee recommended that the areas of aid societies should not be seriously interfered with; that where it was found advisable to make adjustments, these should be made only with the consent of the societies concerned; and that the Central Society, subject to some remodelling and strengthening of its committees, was a competent body to assist in bringing about any reorganisation found to be necessary and should be given a mandate from the local aid societies for that purpose.

12. The report of the Whitbread Committee, in particular that part of it which contemplated that the Central Society would in future adopt a more active policy than in the past and would be regarded as entrusted by the local societies with functions of leadership and co-ordination, was welcomed by the Home Office. The recommendation of the Salmon Committee for the setting up of a National Council was not pursued, and in 1937 the reorganised Central Society assumed the more appropriate title of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.

13. In the years between the passing of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Act in 1862 and the publication of the Salmon Report in 1935, the work of the aid societies was financed to varying degrees from money received from charitable sources and by grants from public funds, with increasing dependence on public funds in later years. By 1950 most aid societies were finding it difficult to meet that part of their expenditure which depended on private benevolence, and in May of the following year the Home Secretary appointed a joint Committee of members of the Prison Commission and the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Maxwell "to review the functions and finance of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, and of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies in so far as it acts in the capacity of an Aid Society; and to make recommendations."

14. In view of the material benefits that had now become available to discharged prisoners through national assistance and other public welfare services, this committee concluded that the time had come for aid societies to place less emphasis on immediate material aid on discharge. They recommended therefore that the aid societies should devote their attention primarily to the individual after-care of selected prisoners in order to assist their rehabilitation as citizens, and that the subsistence money paid to prisoners going home should be chargeable to the Prison Commission. On discharge every prisoner now receives from public funds both his travelling expenses and a small subsistence allowance for immediate needs until he can visit his local office of the National Assistance Board. The grants made by the aid societies can thus be restricted to selected individuals who need additional help for special reasons. To assist the aid societies in the development of constructive after-care—as distinct from routine monetary or clothing grants to discharged prisoners—the Committee further recommended that the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies

should appoint at local prisons trained and qualified social caseworkers to be known as prison welfare officers. These officers would submit to the appropriate aid society recommendations for the after-care of such prisoners as were willing and able to benefit from their services and appeared suitable for special attention and assistance. By 1962 prison welfare officers were in post at all local prisons. At the larger establishments there are two or three officers. The National Association also has full-time welfare officers at a number of regional prisons and special local prisons. These officers co-operate with the local aid societies in respect of prisoners eligible to receive voluntary after-care, and with the Central After-Care Association in respect of prisoners subject to compulsory after-care.

The Central After-Care Association

15. The Central After-Care Association grew out of three different bodies, namely, the Borstal Association, the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts and the Aylesbury Association.

The Borstal Association

16. At the turn of the century, Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, then Chairman of the Prison Commission, began new methods of classifying and training on reformatory lines in London prisons young offenders between 16 and 21 years of age. From among his personal acquaintances he formed an Association of Visitors who befriended youths on release, endeavoured to find employment for them, and generally supervised their resettlement. In 1901, a portion of the convict prison near the village of Borstal in Kent was set aside for the special treatment of young prisoners selected from the ordinary prisons in the Metropolitan area, and two years later the Association of Visitors was converted into the Borstal Association with the object of providing a permanent working organisation, under voluntary management, for the assistance of youths from the prison on their release. Shortly afterwards, the Borstal Association also undertook the care on discharge of young offenders from the north of England who were concentrated at Lincoln prison for treatment on Borstal lines.

17. When the borstal system was given statutory recognition by the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, there was introduced, in the form of the borstal licence, a new principle of vital importance to the future of after-care. The borstal licence was a positive licence; its object was to ensure that the youth was placed under the supervision of a society (in this case the Borstal Association) whose primary object was his rehabilitation; and it was a requirement of the licence that the youth should have regard to the society's directions and advice, with the risk of recall to borstal if he failed to do so.

The Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts

18. Because of their essentially local and decentralised character, the aid societies never assumed responsibility for prisoners sentenced to penal servitude, who were sent to what were then called convict prisons. The provision of these prisons and their management had from the beginning been the responsibility of the central government. After-care for the convict on licence, apart from what help might be got from various charities, took the form primarily of compulsory supervision by the police, to whom the man on "ticket of leave" had to report at regular intervals. In 1910, however, central arrangements were made for more constructive methods of assistance and after-care for persons discharged from convict prisons. In that year the Home Secretary (then Mr. Winston Churchill), recognising that more should be done to give a fresh start to men released from penal servitude, established the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts, an organisation wholly financed from public funds. This body was also made responsible for supervising ex-prisoners released on licence after serving sentences of preventive detention imposed under the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908. The Association was nominally placed under a General Council, of which the Home Secretary was

President, and on which such voluntary bodies as had hitherto been giving some help to ex-convicts were represented. In practice, the Association was managed by its Director in consultation with the Prison Commissioners. The volume of work was small, so management of the Association was entrusted as a secondary responsibility to the Director of the recently formed Borstal Association (see paragraph 16). After the second world war, for better co-ordination of adult after-care work, direction of the Association was transferred to the General Secretary of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, and both bodies were housed in the same premises.

The Aylesbury Association

19. Until 1928, the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts dealt also with women convicts, while the after-care of girls sentenced to borstal training rested with the Borstal Association. It was then thought that there would be advantages in bringing this work into closer association with the women's prison at Aylesbury, which at that time was both the convict prison for first offenders and the only borstal institution for girls. Accordingly, a new society, the Aylesbury Association, was set up. As with the Borstal and Central Associations, the administration of the Aylesbury Association was financed wholly from public funds.

Formation of the Central After-Care Association

20. The Criminal Justice Act, 1948, abolished penal servitude. At the same time compulsory after-care, which had hitherto applied only to persons released from a sentence of borstal detention or preventive detention, was extended to certain categories of adult offenders, namely, men and women released on licence from sentences of corrective training and from the new form of preventive detention created by the Act, and prisoners under 21 on conviction released on licence from sentences of imprisonment. In all these cases, the Act provided for the period of licence to be a period of supervision by "such society or person as may be specified in the licence".

21. In order to ensure that the supervision and after-care of these different classes of offenders should be treated on common principles, it was decided to merge the three existing after-care organisations (the Borstal Association, the Central Association for the Aid of Discharged Convicts and the Aylesbury Association) into one co-ordinated body, to be called the Central After-Care Association. This Association is now, therefore, the "society" appointed for all the purposes of compulsory supervision and after-care.

The Criminal Justice Act, 1961

22. In 1957, the Home Secretary asked the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders to consider whether there should be compulsory after-care for prisoners released from sentences of imprisonment and, if so, to what categories of prisoner it should be applied and by what sanctions it should be enforced. In its report the Council recommended the extension of compulsory after-care to certain categories discharged after sentences of imprisonment. It also expressed its views on the period of compulsory after-care and the conditions of the licence. These recommendations were accepted by the Home Secretary and enabling powers were taken in the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, as also for the supervision and after-care of persons released from detention centres.

The circumstances of the present inquiry

23. In the course of his speech on the second reading of the Criminal Justice Bill, which became the Act of 1961, the Home Secretary observed that the extension of compulsory after-care would create new problems of organisation and would, no doubt, also affect the arrangements for providing voluntary after-care for those who were not subject to compulsory supervision. He announced his intention, therefore, to invite the Advisory Council to undertake a review of the existing practice and to consider how far any changes in the organisation of compulsory or voluntary after-care were desirable and practicable.

APPENDIX C

CONDITIONS OF PRESENT AFTER-CARE LICENCES OR SUPERVISION ORDERS

The following are the requirements to which persons receiving compulsory after-care on discharge are subject:

- (1) On your release you must go to the place agreed with the Central After-Care Association or to which they have directed you.
- (2) You must keep in touch with your supervisor in accordance with his instructions ; you must be truthful in your dealings with him.
- (3) You must tell your supervisor immediately of any change of address or place of employment and any such change must be approved by the Central After-Care Association.
- (4) You must lead an honest, sober and industrious life and you must be punctual and regular at your work.
- (5) You must not break the law or keep company with persons of bad character.

APPENDIX D

STAFFING OF PRISONERS' AID SOCIETIES

The following table shows the position at 31st December, 1962:—

Name of Society	After-Care Officers			Secretaries			Secretary/After-Care Officers			Potential Case Loads*
	Whole-time	Part-time	Honorary	Whole-time	Part-time	Honorary	Whole-time	Part-time	Honorary	
Bedfordshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	309
Berkshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	303
Birmingham and West Midlands ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,844
Bradford ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	805
British and area ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	755
Buckinghamshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	238
Cambridgeshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	95
Canterbury ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	137
Cambridgeshire and Westmorland ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	365
Derbyshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	520
Devon ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	775
Devon and Cornwall ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,618
Dorset and North Riding ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	885
Durham ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	775
Durham and North Riding ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,327
Essex ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,408
S.W. Midlands ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,015
Hampshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,250
Harroway ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	610
Hull and East Riding ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	780
Kent ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,312
Lancs. and Cheshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	904
Leicestershire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	500
Lincolnshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300
Liverpool and S.W. Lancs. and N. Wales ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	424
Newcastle and Northumberland ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	869
Norfolk and Suffolk ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	316
Northamptonshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,604
North Staffordshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	215
Nottingham and Notts. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	631
Oxfordshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	347
Royal London ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,784
Salisbury and Montgomery ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	694
Sheffield and District ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,308
Southern ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	48,504
South Wales and Monmouthshire ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sussex ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
West Riding ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals ...	23	11	2	6	1	16	11	3	3	48,504

* In terms of the number of prisoners discharged to the responsibility of individual societies during 1962.

APPENDIX E

SOCIAL WORKERS IN PRISONS

The following tables show the position at 31st December 1962:—

I. Prisons where social workers appointed by the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies are in post

Prison	Average daily population (1962)	Number of social workers*
<i>Local prisons</i>		
Bedford	236	1
Birmingham	811	3
Bristol	447	1
Brixton	771	3
Canterbury	369	1
Cardiff	463	2
Dorchester	218	1
Durham	1,109	3
Exeter	506	1
Gloucester	298	1
Holloway	300	1
Leeds	998	3
Leicester	352	1
Lincoln	599	2
Liverpool	1,393	3
Manchester	1,569	3
Norwich	274	1
Oxford	237	1
Pentonville	1,361	3
Shrewsbury	261	1
Swansea	291	1
Wandsworth	1,606	3
Winchester	579	2
Wormwood Scrubs	713	2
<i>Special local prisons</i>		
Appleton Thorn	168	1
Ashwell	310	1
Bela River	237	$\frac{1}{2}$ —with Lancaster
Drake Hall	298	2
Eastchurch	376	1
Ford	350	1
Grendon†	23	$\frac{1}{4}$ —with Spring Hill
Hull	295	1
Kirkham‡	24	1
Preston	609	2
Spring Hill	149	$\frac{1}{4}$ —with Grendon
Stafford	824	3
Thorp Arch	245	1
<i>Regional prisons</i>		
Lancaster	212	$\frac{1}{4}$ —with Bela River
Maidstone	362	1
Sudbury	346	1
The Verne	293	1
Wakefield	222	1

* Social workers at men's prisons may be of either sex.

† Opened August, 1962.

‡ Opened September, 1962.

II. Prisons visited by officers of the Central After-Care Association

Prison	Average daily population (1962)
<i>Special local prisons</i>	
Hill Hall	60
<i>Young prisoners' centres</i>	
Aylesbury	72
Lewes	245
Liverpool	130
Northallerton	114
Stafford	103
Thorp Arch	22
Wakefield	40
<i>Regional prisons</i>	
Askham Grange	61
Camp Hill	303
Moor Court	28
Wandsworth	31
<i>Central prisons</i>	
Chelmsford	201
Dartmoor*	560
Holloway†	38
Leyhill	235
Maidstone	57
Nottingham	168
Parkhurst*	491
Wakefield	407
Wormwood Scrubs	327

* The Central After-Care Association is taking steps to appoint resident social workers at Dartmoor and Parkhurst prisons.

† The Women's and Girls' Division of the Central After-Care Association employs a resident officer at Holloway prison.

APPENDIX F

ANALYSIS OF PERSONS RELEASED TO COMPULSORY AND VOLUNTARY AFTER-CARE DURING 1962

I. *Compulsory After-Care*

Category	After-Care Agency	Number released during 1962		Period of After-Care	Remarks
		Males	Females		
Borstal inmates	Central After-Care Association.	5,320	147	2 years from date of release.	—
Young prisoners aged under 21 on conviction released on licence after serving sentences of 3 months or more.	Central After-Care Association.	1,470	71	6 months from date of release or the unexpired portion of the sentence (normally one-third), whichever is the longer.	The Criminal Justice Act 1961, provides for the eventual abolition of short-term imprisonment for persons under the age of 21 and its replacement with detention in a detention centre.
Corrective training prisoners ...	Central After-Care Association.	458	6	Unexpired portion of the sentence (normally one-third).	—
Preventive detention prisoners ...	Central After-Care Association.	253	3	Unexpired portion of the sentence (normally one-sixth but in some cases one-third).	The normal period of after-care for preventive detention prisoners released since 19th March, 1963, is one-third of the sentence. This follows acceptance by the Home Secretary of the recommendation of the Advisory Council in their report on "Preventive Detention" that <i>all</i> preventive detainees should, subject to good conduct, be released on licence after serving two-thirds of their sentence.

I. Compulsory After-Care (continued)

Category	After-Care Agency	Number released during 1962		Period of After-Care	Remarks
		Males	Females		
Persons serving a sentence of life imprisonment who are required by the terms of their licence to receive after-care (including juveniles sentenced to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure).	Central After-Care Association.	8	1	No set period but normally a minimum of 3 years.	—
Approved School children ...	(a) Approved School welfare service. (b) Probation service ... (c) Local authority child-care services.* (d) Approved School staff other than officers of the Approved School welfare service. (e) Other agencies ...	1,997 1,107 581 110 54	— 541 182 61 43	2 years from the date of first release or until the age of 21, whichever is the earlier.	Voluntary after-care may be arranged, at the child's request, for a further period after the end of the period of compulsory supervision until the third anniversary of the expiration of the period of his detention, or until the age of 21, whichever is the earlier.

* These figures include persons taken into care under section 6(4) of the Children Act, 1948.

II. *Voluntary After-Care*

Category	After-Care Agency	Number released during 1962		Period of After-Care	Remarks
		Males	Females		
Young prisoners aged under 21 on conviction released after serving sentences of less than 3 months.	Local prisoners' aid societies.	483	22	No set period...	The Criminal Justice Act, 1961, provides for the eventual abolition of short-term imprisonment for persons under the age of 21 and its replacement with detention in a detention centre.
Persons sentenced to detention in a detention centre.	Normally the probation service.	3,273	Nil	No set period...	The Criminal Justice Act, 1961, makes provision for compulsory after-care to be extended to persons released from detention centres. The period of compulsory after-care would be for 1 year from the date of release.
Persons aged over 21 sentenced to imprisonment, other than life imprisonment:—				No set period...	The Criminal Justice Act, 1961, makes provision for the extension of compulsory after-care to persons serving a sentence of imprisonment of:—
1. Men discharged from central prisons.	Central After-Care Association.	327	—		(a) 4 years or more;
2. Men discharged from other prisons after serving sentences of 4 years or more.	Central After-Care Association.	516	—		(b) 6 months or more, with at least one previous sentence of imprisonment of 3 months or more or a sentence of corrective training, preventive detention or borstal training; and
3. Women discharged from central and regional prisons after serving sentences of 3 years or more.	Central After-Care Association.	—	26		(c) 6 months or more, passed on a person appearing to the Secretary of State to have been under the age of 26 at the commencement of the sentence.
4. Women discharged from other prisons after serving sentences of more than 3 years.	Central After-Care Association.	—	Nil		Provision is made for the extension of compulsory after-care to any of these categories or to sub-divisions of category (b) by Order of the Secretary of State. The period of compulsory after-care would be for 1 year from the date of release.
5. All others	(a) Local prisoners' aid societies. (b) The National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.	45,609 1,250	2,390 140		

MEMORANDUM OF DISSENT

by Professor Leon Radzinowicz, the Hon. Lady Inskip and the
Rev. E. Shirvell Price

The Sub-Committee on After-Care of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders are emphatic about the existing inadequacy of after-care, and so is everyone else. "None of our witnesses was prepared to defend present arrangements, save perhaps as regards borstal after-care, and very few wished to maintain the *status quo*" (paragraph 65). Reorganisation would clearly "require a new approach" (paragraph 105). "A new range of duties" would be involved (paragraphs 113-116); and "major changes" would be necessary (paragraph 71).

They devoted two years to their deliberations, held 42 meetings, received oral evidence from many witnesses and collected 53 memoranda. They now come forward with their scheme—a scheme for "an enlarged probation and after-care service" (paragraph 103).

They claim, in effect, that this scheme gives the best of all worlds. "For the first time the Government would be fully responsible for the development of an effective system of after-care for all discharged offenders" (paragraph 163). Simultaneously "the responsibility for the efficient conduct of after-care in the community would be essentially a local one" (paragraph 153). On one hand there would be a professional service of caseworkers, on the other voluntary after-care auxiliaries would be brought in to work under their supervision (paragraphs 120-124). Inside the institutions caseworkers would be part of a centrally controlled service, outside they would be under local administration; but there would be close communication and interchange between them (paragraphs 82, 104 and 116).

The Committee are aware that the reorganisation of after-care on the lines they suggest is likely to prove a formidable task. They quote the comment of the Morison Committee that "probation and case committees and, to a degree, probation officers themselves, tend to regard after-care work as extraneous to the normal functions of the probation officer and, hence, to give it insufficient attention in considering staffing needs or to give other work priority over it in time of pressure". They share the impression that after-care is the "Cinderella" of the probation service (paragraph 105).

How does the Sub-Committee propose to match this natural and inbred pull towards probation by an equally powerful impetus in the direction of after-care?

The magic of the double-barrelled name

First, there is to be the *Central Council for Probation and After-Care* (paragraphs 165-166). This would be a large body of twenty members with "a wide range of experience in social questions", and "not intended to be representative of particular interests". Detailed consideration of specific questions could be referred to sub-committees, to which could be co-opted persons with "relevant experience". It would appear that the main concerns of the Council would be with policy and general organisation. They are, however, also to advise on recruitment and training of after-care auxiliaries and research projects in probation and after-care.

Recruitment and training of professional social workers for probation, after-care and penal institutions would be entrusted to another body, the *Probation and After-Care Training Board* (paragraphs 167-168). The present functions of the Probation Advisory and Training Board would thus be divided between two separate bodies, with some additional responsibilities for after-care.

Within the *Home Office* there would be a section devoted to *probation and after-care*. Its existing inspectorate would be "expanded to provide a common body of expert knowledge" on these subjects. It would advise and support social workers in probation, after-care and penal institutions (paragraph 163).

The duality of function appears again at the local level and continues right down through the chain of responsibility. Probation Committees and Probation Case Committees would become *Probation and After-Care Committees*, fortified in the latter part of their duties by the incorporation of non-justices with "the widest possible knowledge or experience of after-care and its particular problems" (paragraph 145). They would thus be enabled to assume "heavy additional responsibilities", reflecting "what will become a substantial part of the functions of a greatly expanded service".

Similarly the transformation of the Principal Probation Officer into the *Principal Probation and After-Care Officer* would empower him to take a "comprehensive view of the whole range of after-care needs and services", and "an equal responsibility for the after-care offered as a voluntary service to the majority of discharged prisoners and for the compulsory after-care of the minority". In addition to all his existing administrative and supervisory functions, it would become "one of his main duties . . . to harness and stimulate the work of the voluntary organisations and public agencies which would be contributing to after-care" (paragraph 114).

At the point at which the probation officer becomes the "*probation and after-care officer*" there appears at last some recognition that the development of after-care may call for something more than a foothold within the probation system. The Sub-Committee recognise that organisation during the early years would demand, at least in the larger areas, full-time attention from somebody. Committees would, therefore, "assign one of their officers to take immediate responsibility, under the principal probation and after-care officer, for the oversight of after-care activities" (paragraph 115).

Realising also that the needs of prisoners when discharged are more complicated and often more urgent than those of probationers, and demand more immediate and sustained attention, they recommend that in the larger urban centres some officers should specialise, for a period, in after-care work (paragraph 111).

Finally, the Committee expect that part-time voluntary workers (to be known as After-Care Auxiliaries) will come forward in sufficient numbers (paragraphs 120-130). They envisage the formation of Area Auxiliary After-Care Committees throughout the country, with very wide objectives.

Machinery minus motive force

There would be no one person, no one body, called upon to devote exclusive attention to after-care, except such probation officers as were temporarily assigned to this duty. What guarantee can there be, under this scheme, that the peculiar problems of after-care will be explored with a sufficient sense of urgency, and on a national basis? How can it be developed into a service with its own identity, drive, experimentation and expansion?

The probation service, with its long record of remarkable achievements, is heavily burdened from top to bottom. It has already considerable responsibilities for statutory after-care. These are to be further increased under the Criminal Justice Act, 1961. And now, in addition, it is proposed to make it responsible for all those of the 45,000 offenders discharged every year who ask for after-care voluntarily.

There would be a great increase not only in the numbers receiving such care, but also in the range of duties involved. Probation officers would have to share in the recruitment and training of voluntary auxiliaries and maintain their supervision. They would have to establish close liaison with the welfare officers of many institutions in the difficult task of planning after-care before release. They would also be responsible for the equally vital task of helping the families of offenders whilst they were still away.

Meanwhile, other new and urgent calls are being made upon their skill. In particular, the duty of making reports on offenders appearing before the courts is being expanded as recommended by the Streatfeild Committee. After-care has been overshadowed by other duties in the past: what guarantees are there, in the scheme which the Sub-Committee propose, that would guard against this danger in future?

This scheme is, in effect, an emasculated version of that suggested by the National Association of Probation Officers and the Principal Probation Officers' Conference. Even within the framework adopted by the Sub-Committee, the driving force behind the development of after-care could have been considerably strengthened at certain key points:

- (a) As now envisaged, the Central Council would be a large and cumbersome body, called upon to keep abreast of the problems of the established probation service and at the same time to bring imagination and initiative to the new sphere of after-care. The development of what will virtually be a new service should be entrusted to a smaller council specialising in that alone, headed by a Chairman of national standing with a real and sustained concern.
- (b) There should be a Director of After-Care with effective status and wide responsibilities. He should make a long-range survey of the needs of after-care. He should be concerned with training of officers engaged in after-care work; with the appointment of senior and other staff specialising in after-care within the probation areas; and with the provision of hostels and other institutions.
- (c) A staff of inspectors, again concerned solely with after-care, should be set up. They should work in close touch with the Director of After-Care.

- (d) It is not enough that Probation Committees in all but the smallest areas should be advised to assign to one of their probation officers the duty of overseeing after-care activities. They should be required to appoint an additional officer, of senior rank, for this purpose alone. It would be to him, and to the inspectors, that Probation and Case Committees would have to look for advice and information on the development of a professional after-care service.
- (e) The initiation of experiments in after-care, such as the provision of different kinds of hostel, should not be left to local enterprise alone but should also be the responsibility of the Council and the Director of After-Care.

These suggestions are advanced as deserving further exploration. There may well be other ways in which the scheme could be strengthened, but none seem to have been considered in the report.

A restricted vision

The idea of an *ad hoc* organisation, employing its own workers both inside and outside institutions, is dismissed on the ground that "apart from employing and inspecting these two groups of professional workers, the central organisation's direct contribution to after-care could only be to act as a channel of communication between the two wings of its own professional staff and as a centre of advice on unusually difficult cases" (paragraph 70). This illustrates the distorted vision which is so preoccupied with casework problems that it ignores the broader questions of community provision. Centralised initiative and effort are needed to evolve a policy of after-care in relation to the social and economic structure of the country. The strategic siting of hostels or camps through which offenders may be reabsorbed into society, or kept out of it, also requires much more than piecemeal local responsibility. The Sub-Committee hint at such an objective in another context, where they refer to "the promotion of schemes for the development of hostels, clubs and other new projects to meet special needs" as amongst the functions to be carried out centrally (paragraph 155). They do not enlarge upon this theme, however, but simply confine themselves to the encouragement of local efforts.

The proposed scheme gives no worth-while centre of direction at any level. A false step at this stage would be difficult to retrieve. But it would be equally disastrous if the first step were so feeble and faltering that it achieved no more than half measures and allowed further procrastination. This is a lesson of the Maxwell Report. Interest and enthusiasm would wither and hopes of real advance would recede.

There has been enough tampering with after-care over the past fifty years. Next to the local prisons it is the weakest link in our system for dealing with offenders. What is needed now is a bolder vision—and a scheme with some guts in it. Then we could be content to proceed by stages.

LEON RADZINOWICZ.

JANET INSKIP.

ERIC SHIRVELL PRICE.

Reservation by Mr. R. G. Robinson

1. While sincerely congratulating the Sub-Committee on the Report they have submitted to the Council and realising fully the hard work they have put into it over a period of nearly two years, and while agreeing with their findings in the main, I find myself quite unable to accept that portion of the Report dealing with the Approved Schools After-Care Service, where it is proposed to wind up the Welfare Officers' Service.

2. This Service, as admitted in paragraph 198 of the Report, is the very one the Managers of the Approved Schools prefer to use, where possible, rather than members of other services who are not solely concerned with Approved School After-Care and over whom the Managers have no control. This opinion of the Managers is endorsed by both the Heads and the Staffs of Schools, by a large majority. I feel it is a most undesirable thing to deprive the Managers, Heads and Staffs of the Schools, who, after all, are the experts in their own field, of the service they like the best.

3. I therefore whole-heartedly deplore any suggestion to do away with this service or split it up into two sections, thus depriving it of its existence, and under no circumstances can I agree to that section of the Report suggesting that this should be done.

4. I fully realise that the service has never been up to proper strength, and is not evenly divided over the country as a whole, and that the present case-loads are too high, but I would respectfully suggest to the Home Secretary three possible alternatives, either of which I could support and, I think, my colleagues in the Approved School Service could also :—

- A. Increase the numbers of the Welfare Officers' Service by some two-thirds, and allow it to continue as a separate unit.
- B. Incorporate the Welfare Officers' Service, as a separate unit or department, into the Children's Department (Child Care Service), thus making transfer to other departments of the Child Care Service possible, and thereby making promotion easy, while allowing it as a service to continue, strengthened by increased numbers and by being part of a larger service.
- C. Incorporate the Welfare Officers' Service, under similar conditions, into the Probation Service.

5. Under any of these schemes, the service which is so liked by the Schools could be retained, and under either B or C it would have the advantages of belonging to the large organisation, while retaining its identity. In either scheme B or scheme C arrangements for some control by the Managers of Schools over the departmental service should be allowed for.

6. I ask that this Memorandum shall be added to the Report, to be submitted to the Home Secretary. I regret being unable to agree with my colleagues on this portion of the Report, but I feel that it is my duty to put forward my views honestly, and that no compromise is possible which would allow me to accept the full report as it stands.

R. G. ROBINSON.



HOME OFFICE

The Organisation of After-Care

Report of the Advisory Council
on the Treatment
of Offenders



LONDON
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1963

2nd October, 1963

SIR,

In April, 1961, you asked the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders to review the arrangements for the organisation of statutory and voluntary after-care for persons discharged from prisons, borstals, detention centres and approved schools; to consider whether any changes were necessary or desirable; and to make recommendations.

The Council set up a sub-committee to carry out the review. The sub-committee were greatly helped by having the assistance of two co-opted members, Miss Alice Johnston and Mrs. Belinda Norman-Butler. The sub-committee's report was subsequently considered and adopted by the Council, subject to a memorandum of dissent by Professor Radzinowicz, Lady Inskip and Mr. Shirvell Price and a reservation by Mr. Robinson, which are appended to the report. I now have the honour, on behalf of the Council, to submit the report for your consideration.

For the majority of adult persons discharged from penal institutions, acceptance of after-care is entirely voluntary. Such after-care is provided through the medium of local prisoners' aid societies, who have pioneered this work. The devotion of those associated with the societies is unquestionable. But their numbers are small and their financial resources wholly inadequate to provide for the work that needs to be done; while their potential commitments, in terms of the number of persons discharged each year, continue to increase at an alarming rate. We are all agreed that a radical revision of the present arrangements is essential if after-care is to achieve its aims.

After-care is essentially a form of social casework. It calls for team work within the institutions in which offenders are detained, a concerted effort in the community, and the employment in both spheres of persons with the appropriate social casework training. We have considered whether there should be a separate organisation specialising in after-care, and employing its own staff, some of whom would work inside penal institutions. The creation of such an organisation at the present time is open to a number of practical objections, which are discussed in paragraphs 67-70 and 101-102 of the report. The majority of us agree that the most fruitful course in present circumstances is to provide, as the sub-committee have proposed, for after-care in the community to be undertaken by an expanded and reorganised probation and after-care service (or, in the case of persons released from approved schools, by that service or the child care service), and for social workers in penal institutions to become members of the prison service.

No one can foresee with certainty the outcome of this vast new experiment in the treatment of offenders. As knowledge and experience are gained of its operation, and as the community social services generally continue to develop, there may well be need for adjustment and change to reflect the prevailing circumstances and to ensure that the available resources are used to best advantage. The field of after-care is not one in which a particular pattern of provision can be expected to last for ever. We think it important

that the arrangements proposed in our report should be reviewed after an appropriate interval, and we would not wish to exclude the possibility that from these arrangements there may eventually develop a separate and specialised after-care service.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

PATRICK BARRY.

The Rt. Hon. Henry Brooke, M.P.,

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for the Home Department.

THE ORGANISATION OF AFTER-CARE

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INTRODUCTION

1. We were appointed by the Advisory Council in May, 1961, to review the arrangements for the organisation of statutory and voluntary after-care for persons discharged from prisons, borstals, detention centres and approved schools; to consider whether any changes are necessary or desirable; and to make recommendations.

Evidence

2. We have held 42 meetings and have received oral evidence from the representatives of 28 interested bodies and from 29 individual witnesses. We have had 53 memoranda of evidence. A list of those who gave written or oral evidence appears in Appendix A. We have had the benefit of hearing a tape recording, by kind permission of those concerned, of the views expressed by a group of discharged prisoners in discussion with two visiting research workers from the United States of America—Professor Donald L. Garrity, Associate Professor and Chairman of the Department of Sociology, San Francisco State College, and Mr. Robert Smith, Fulbright Research Scholar and Supervising Parole Officer in the Department of the Youth Authority, State of California.

3. While the sub-committee has been sitting, most of us have been able to see for ourselves something of the existing arrangements for the after-care and rehabilitation of offenders. Our visits, made either individually or in small groups, have ranged over the establishments from which offenders are discharged; the headquarters of the Central After-Care Association and the headquarters of the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies; a number of local prisoners' aid societies; the welfare office of St. Martin-in-the-Fields; a Church Army hostel; and a number of small hostels provided specifically for discharged persons. In addition, our Chairman and one other member of the sub-committee had the pleasure of meeting, at the Scottish Home and Health Department in Edinburgh, Canon Peter Morrison, a member of the Scottish Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders and of the Scottish After-Care Council, and Mr. D. A. P. Barry, also a member of those bodies and Chairman of the Edinburgh Regional Committee of the Scottish After-Care Council, together with Mr. T. M. Martin, Director of the Scottish Prison and Borstal Services, and Mr. J. N. Peddie, Chief Inspector of Welfare and After-Care Services. We valued this opportunity of enabling views on broad matters of principle to be exchanged with our Scottish colleagues.

4. We wish to express our gratitude to those who submitted memoranda and to the witnesses who gave us the benefit of their experience; to those who facilitated our visits and helped us to gain a closer insight into the task confronting us; and to all those officials and others who have assisted us in our inquiry.

5. In particular we are indebted to our secretary, Mr. R. J. H. West of the Prison Department of the Home Office, who collected our evidence, convened our witnesses, and recorded our deliberations with unfailing courtesy and skill.

6. Our report is in three parts. The first two are concerned with the organisation of after-care for persons discharged from prisons, borstals and detention centres. In the third part we examine the arrangements for the after-care of young people from approved schools.